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# ISLAMIC REVIEW

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*Continued on page 3*

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## Between Ourselves . . . .

### THE COVER

The picture on the cover is that of the most loved and sought-after corner of the Prophet's Mosque at Medina, Sa'udi Arabia. The niche on the right is the place where the Prophet Muhammad was wont to say his prayers, and is known as the *Mihrab al-Nabiyy*, i.e., the Niche of the Prophet. On the right of this is the place of the Prophet's Pulpit — the *Minbar*, while to its left a few yards away is the Prophet's last resting-place, called the *Hujra*, which originally was the house of his wife, 'A'isha, where he breathed his last.

This particular part of the Prophet's Mosque is the most sought-after because once the Prophet remarked, "The area between my pulpit and my house is one of the gardens of Paradise", these words are cut in metal and form part of the archway (right) adjacent to the Prophet's Niche.

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# The Islamic Review

January : 1955

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"There will be no Prophet after me" — THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XLIII No. 1

JANUARY, 1955

Jumada 'l-ula — Jumada 'l-thaniya, 1374 A.H.

# A TIME OF STRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

## The fallen idols of Egypt and Iran

Egypt and Iran, two Muslim countries which during the last three years have been setting the pace in the Middle East in the field of the national struggle for liberation and for the restoration of national dignity and freedom from foreign political and economic imperialism, have in the last few months been going through a period of anxiety and stress. In both these countries, the strange phenomena of the original champions of the campaign for freedom becoming hunted and persecuted "traitors" has been established.

In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwaan al-Muslimoun*), which had so far been recognized both in Egypt and in other parts of the world as the organization from which the nationalist movement draws its inspiration, has been dissolved. A number of the leaders of this organization were hanged for taking part in an attempted *coup d'état* in Egypt, and Mr. Hasan al-Hudaiby, its supreme guide, is serving a sentence of life imprisonment, having first been sentenced to death by a special military court in Cairo. In Iran, the small group of fiery and determined men who championed the move for the nationalization of the country's oil industry have been hunted over the last few months by the Government of General Zahedi, and either put to a quick death by the bullets of military firing squads or thrown behind bars for long terms of imprisonment. Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq, formerly Prime Minister of Iran, and who was the original champion of the successful movement for the freeing of Iran from the tentacles of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, is in prison serving a sentence of solitary confinement. Dr. Husain Fatemi, his Foreign Minister and right-hand man, was summarily executed for "treason".

These three men — Mr. Hasan al-Hudaiby, Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq and Dr. Husain Fatemi — were at one time recognized in their countries and in other parts of the Muslim and non-Muslim world as the great men who were helping to build a better future for their countries and people. We said that much in these columns, and with very few reservations, we are saying so now.

## The Middle East and its new experience

The question which the people of the Middle East are asking themselves, and which many Muslims and non-

Muslims alike are pondering over, is this: "Have these men always been so wicked; or are they really not wicked at all?"

There is no denying the fact that idols in the Middle East, however highly they had been esteemed and loved, have had a frightening habit of falling down with a bang of late and getting smashed to bits. There has been one *coup d'état* after another in this part of the world in recent years. That was no great cause for worry. For the countries concerned were undergoing a new experience — a tremendous experience that called for a quick and drastic change in things, if it were to work at all. And this state of affairs was bound, sooner or later, to find its level and settle down to it. But when either those who advocate change or those who oppose them resort to the policy of blood and fire there may be cause for worry and alarm. And that, in our view, is what has been happening recently in Iran and Egypt.

## Dr. Musaddiq and Dr. Fatemi's records of public service

In Iran, Dr. Musaddiq was the hero of his people. They were all behind him in his campaign to nationalize the oil industry. They remained behind him, although perhaps less solidly and enthusiastically, after the nationalization became an accomplished fact. They of course all wanted to see material results and benefits flow from the nationalization policy. He promised no quick returns and in fact did not produce such quick returns. The gigantic Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, whose tentacles are spread all over the world, and the British and American Governments, went all out to make Dr. Musaddiq's policy of nationalization a flop. They put all kinds of obstacles in the way of Iran properly making use of her newly regained industry. Dr. Musaddiq's Government could not overcome these obstacles all at once. And the consequence was that Iran was immersed in a difficult economic plight. People became restless and their loyalty became strained. Dr. Musaddiq then endeavoured to obtain wider powers for himself to enable him to take drastic measures without having to refer to the *Majlis* (Iran's House of Representatives) or to the Shah. A tussle between the supporters of Dr. Musaddiq and his opponents (who were mainly supporters of the Shah) ensued. The result was that Dr. Musaddiq was overthrown and General Zahedi became Prime Minister of the country. General Zahedi, supported



by the Shah, wanted to conclude a compromise agreement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company; and this he has now done.

Dr. Musaddiq and his leading supporters were then put on trial by the Government of General Zahedi. The charge — "treason" to the Shah and to the country. The evidence — their attempt to change the system of government in the country and oust the Shah, its sovereign. The verdicts — sentences of imprisonment for long terms, and in some cases death sentences.

### The words, not the deeds, of the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood

In Egypt, Mr. Hasan al-Hudaiby was the leader of an organization which sought to remedy the ills of society by applying the social system of Islam. Thousands of Muslims, who were members of the Muslim Brotherhood, swore loyalty to him, and listened to his sermons on the teachings of Islam. Many of those who stood trial in Egypt recently for treasonable activities were also ardent advocates of Islam. Perhaps what they wrote and what they preached represented only one side of their nature, and perhaps they led a life of Jekyll and Hyde.

It is not our business here to judge them in this respect, except to say that Islam in our view does not permit assassinations of the kind they are said to have planned. At the same time, however, we can say without hesitation that there is a great deal of what these men wrote which will for a long time to come give guidance and inspiration to Muslims. In this regard we shall look upon them as scholars, and will not allow their personal political record to mar our judgment on what they have written on purely Islamic subjects; we do not regard them as martyrs. Perhaps they are only unfortunate people who strayed from the right path in one respect or another.

### The institution of the monarchy

It is difficult to say what should be done with people who seek to upset the political *status quo* in the country by means of a *coup d'état*. The remedy in the political book of words is quite simple — try them for the crime of treason and if you find them guilty of this, "liquidate" them. This might be a simple and effective remedy. But difficulties and complications arise when the *coups d'états* are frequent, with one *coup* countering another and following close on its heels.

In the long run the chopped heads are bound to pile rather high and will contain not only the heads of those who started the original *coup* but also of those who started the *coup* to counter them, and so on. It is an endless vicious circle.

We are not Communists, nor are we fellow-travellers. We hate Communism as much as General Zahedi or the Shah of Iran hates it. We do not like to see Iran, or any other Muslim country for that matter, governed by men from Moscow, because we firmly believe that such a thing will be entirely against the interests of Islam and the Muslims. Nor do we hate the institution of monarchy so much. If people like to be governed by a king rather than a president, we have no objections to their wishes. It is true that the history of Islam clearly shows that Islam did not prosper very much when the institution of monarchy was established. But that does not mean that monarchy cannot be anything but bad and harmful to a country's interests. There are many countries in the world today, Muslim and non-Muslim, who are prosperous and happy under a monarchy.

What we do not like is to see kings, or presidents, or Prime Ministers, executing people of any calibre simply because these unfortunates happen to entertain views which are not quite in conformity with the views of the people in power. And it is for this reason that we hope the rulers of Iran will show more graceful tolerance to their enemies amongst the fallen leaders of the nation, and will temper justice with mercy in the truly Islamic fashion.

The Muslim world is in need above all things of stability and solidarity. Executions and counter executions may provide temporary solutions by silencing those who are being a source of opposition and nuisance. But executions, of their nature, do not go completely forgotten. They foster bad blood and ill-feeling which people may brood over for a long time and seek to avenge.

All great nations in history have had growing pains such as those which at present afflict a section of the Muslim world. This period will not last for ever, and we hope that it will last for only a short time and will leave behind it no indelible marks or festering sores. To that end we believe that the best policy which the governments of the Muslim countries concerned should adopt is that of being lenient with their critics in the ranks of the nation and that they temper justice with mercy. And we advise those who do not see eye to eye with the governments of their countries to take advantage of the freedom of expression and air their views openly and boldly and not resort to the hateful method of plotting and assassination.

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الله

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(God is the Light of the heavens and the earth)

# TOWARDS RE-ORIENTATION OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT\*

By Dr. Sayyid 'Abdul Latif

## A Fresh Examination of the *Hadith* Literature

A survey of the Memorandum by the Council of the Academy of Islamic Studies, Hyderabad-Deccan, India

In January and February of last year I had, on behalf of the Council of the Academy of Islamic Studies, the privilege of inviting the attention of leading Muslim scholars, publicists, legislators and administrators in different parts of the world to a note adopted by the Council, suggesting the need for a fresh approach on scientific lines to the study of the *Hadith*<sup>1</sup> literature and the codification by a body of competent scholars, representative of the entire Islamic world, of a single authorized corpus of authentic traditions of the Prophet as an aid to the study of the Qur'anic *Muhkamat*<sup>2</sup> in the context of the present-day world. The primary aim underlying the proposal was stated to be the clearing of the Qur'anic ideology of all accretions, and thereby paving the way to a re-orientation of Islamic thought on a basis agreeable to the entire *Ummat*,<sup>3</sup> particularly in the domain of law. The note had suggested the different issues arising out of the proposal, and on which opinion was invited. The following were the issues suggested:

- (1) The need for enquiry and research in the *Hadith* literature and codification of a single authorized corpus of the traditions of the Prophet ;
- (2) The method of approach ;
- (3) The agency under whose auspices the proposed Board of Research is to be constituted ;
- (4) The composition of the Board ;
- (5) The terms of reference to the Board ; and,
- (6) The provision of finance for organizing research and publishing its results.

### I.

#### An analysis of the replies received to the Memorandum

The response to the memorandum has not been extensive, but this was anticipated. The vast majority of those addressed evidently must have felt hesitant to pronounce any views on a subject which for ages has been the special preserve of the professional '*Ulama*'.<sup>4</sup> The address to them was primarily educative and informative in character, and that purpose has been served. Indeed, the message of the memorandum has been carried to a much wider circle of our intelligentsia by the voluntary reproduction of it in such widely-read journals as *The Islamic Review* of Woking and London, England, the *Tulu'-i-Islam* of Karachi, Pakistan, the *Tajdid-i-'Ahd* of Lahore, Pakistan, the *Madina* of Bijnor, India, the *Message* of Delhi, India, and *Notes on Islam*, Calcutta, India. The response needed, however, was from those who in one way or another delved in the *Hadith* ; and I am glad to observe that to the extent it has come forth, it must be regarded as satisfying. Even from unexpected quarters has come the reply that a fresh examination of the *Hadith* literature is necessary.

Of the replies received so far, the largest number in order is from India, Pakistan and Egypt. The response from the rest of the Islamic world, though limited, is representative in character, and offers very suggestive clues to the student of Islam interested particularly in the religious crisis facing the Islamic world at the present moment.

A critical résumé of the views so far advanced is

\* See *The Islamic Review* for April 1954.



hereby afforded to friends such as have replied to the Academy's memorandum. A large majority of the replies received are in favour of the proposition. But before we deal with them, it will be well to have a look into the rest, chiefly because they reveal the trends at work at this moment in the body of Islam, both reactionary and revolutionary, trends which in fact supplied the motif for the proposition advanced by the Academy.

*First*: There are those who do not wish to disturb the *status quo*, the out-and-out traditionists, who even prefer a return to a stricter form of traditional Islam.

*Second*: There is a group which rejects the entire gamut of the *Hadith* or traditions as apocryphal and of no consequence to Islam. The Qur'an is enough for them.

*Third*: There is a school of thought which is out to discard the entire framework of the traditional Islam as built in the course of history by the interaction of the Qur'an and the *Hadith*, and rest content with the "spirit or essence" of Islam. This is by no means a negligible trend. It has already taken a concrete form in Turkey and begun to extend its influence in other parts of the Muslim world. It is part of a wider intellectual movement which aims to separate law from religion and secularize social life.

Those under the second and third categories represent a powerful reaction to the Islam dominated by the *Hadith* and stand poles apart from those coming under the first category.

*Fourth*: There is a body of thought which oscillates between its sentimental regard for the traditional Islam and its intellectual fascination for Westernism. Those who find themselves in this uncomfortable position wish to "combine modernity with a maintenance of internal tradition".

The above analysis of trends, it may be observed in passing, is to some extent reinforced by the proceedings of Colloquium of Islamic Culture held in the United States of America in September 1953, under the joint auspices of Princeton University and the Library of the Congress, Washington, to which I may incidentally refer wherever necessary in the course of this analysis.

It was as a corrective to these several trends that the proposition was mooted by the Academy to clear the *Hadith* literature of all that is alien to the Qur'an with a view to establishing a harmonious inter-relation between the two as preliminary to a re-orientation of Islamic thought in the context of the present-day world, particularly in the domain of law.

Let me deal with these trends *seriatim*, before I pass on to the question at issue, which may be regarded as a definite trend in itself.

## II

### An examination of the views of the first group that does not wish to disturb the *status quo*

Those who are satisfied with the *status quo* or are against instituting investigation in the *Hadith* literature are represented on our list by four correspondents, viz., Dr. 'Omar A. Farroukh, a Member of the Arab Academy, Damascus; Professor M. A. Ghamrawy, formerly Head of the Department of Chemistry, School of Pharmacy, Cairo University; Dr. M. Hamidullah, sometime Reader in International Law at the 'Osmania University and author of the *Muslim Conduct of State*, at present settled down in Paris; and Mr. Muhammad

Rahimuddin, a former Principal of the Arts College, Warangal, Hyderabad State, India, and translator into English of the Imam Malik's *al-Mu'atta* (not yet published).

Dr. Farroukh says: "I think that any work along such a line would be only a loss of effort and time. Every single point you have suggested had been treated with the utmost scholarship by some great authors of our glorious past; sifting, evaluation, arrangement of all possible methods and necessities, as well as indices." He adds, however, "Certainly re-edition of *Hadith* literature according to modern external criticism is quite a different subject."

Professor M. A. Ghamrawy has no objection to slight mechanical rearrangement or reclassification of the *Hadith*. Professor Ghamrawy thinks:

- (a) that the *Riwayat*<sup>4a</sup> which are called *Mutawatir*<sup>4a</sup> may be grouped together; and,
- (b) that contradictory *Hadith* should be listed and referred to "*Hadith* scientists" to explain them away.

Professor Ghamrawy is of the opinion that if this process is followed in respect of the collections of each section of Islam, "it would be time to make a comparative study of results and judge how close Muslim community really is and how far it could be brought closer together through one or more collections of the already accepted *Hadith* common to all sections within each denomination or to all sects of the whole nation".

Dr. M. Hamidullah thinks that "there is little chance of getting a set of scholars acceptable to the entire Muslim world, and less chance of these scholars arriving at unanimous conclusions, not to speak of the future generations, when equally honest and learned scholars may find fault with the decisions of the present-day scholars, even as we are finding fault with savants of the stature of Bukhari and Muslim".

"Therefore," says Dr. Hamidullah, "I propose something else, to wit, publishing a consolidated corpus of the *Hadith*. In spite of great efforts in this respect by our predecessors, there is still room and even need of a great *corpus corporum* of the traditions emanating from the Prophet. I mean a corpus which not only cites all the sources of the same *Hadith*, but also notes the variants, together with an *exhaustive index*." He adds: "Individual *Hadith* should be chronologically arranged, that is, according to the age of the *Muhaddith*<sup>5</sup> who relates it." He thinks that with the avoidance of repetitions of one and the same *Hadith*, "the 100,000 or so extant *Hadith* will be reduced to the proportions of the present *Sahih* of Bukhari".

The proposal of Dr. Hamidullah, viz., the bringing together in one place of "all the extant *Hadith*" properly indexed and with repetitions dropped is intelligible enough, and may very likely form the very first step which any board of research will take before they apply to the entire range of the *Hadith* so arranged the process of excision or of eliminating therefrom everything repugnant or alien to the ideology of the Qur'an or which clouds or compromises the character of the Prophet as presented therein. It is this very process on which opinion was invited, and it is on this that Dr. Hamidullah is not sufficiently communicative. He feels that if excision is resorted to by this generation, those who come after will be tempted to do likewise. Let them: they have every right to. Every step taken to bring the *Hadith* nearer the Qur'an will be a step forward on the road to Islam. Else, to shield the compilers of the *Hadith* out of any inherited veneration for them is to forsake the Prophet wilfully, as has been done till now. How else are we then to meet the



ever-growing challenge of the critics of the Prophet and his system who pick out mud from the very *Sihah* (the Six Books of authentic Traditions of the Prophet) and fling it at him at every turn? Unless excision is applied, the consolidated *corpus corporum* recommended by Dr. Hamidullah, systematically or scientifically indexed, will be a very welcome present to the critics of Islam; for here they will have everything properly docketed for their entertainment and ready handling.

Mr. M. Rahimuddin may be associated with Dr. Hamidullah. Indeed, he desires to go even beyond him. He would like to collect and index not only the extant *riwayat*<sup>a</sup> which Dr. Hamidullah would include in his *corpus corporum*, but all the *Hadith*, "*extant and defunct, rejected and approved*". He advises us strongly not to employ ourselves "on lifting imaginary veils over the Qur'an and *Hadith*".

### III

## An examination of the views of the Second Group that rejects the *Hadith* as apocryphal

As against the above group which favours the preservation of every extant *riwayat*, whatever its quality, there is the group which rejects the entire gamut of *riwayat* as untrustworthy and of no consequence to Islam. The Qur'an is enough for them. The "Nadwah Ansar al-Qur'an" of Cairo, which among others holds this view, have favoured us through their President with two lengthy letters, as also printed literature in support of their standpoint. This is a clear swing of the pendulum from one end to the other — a reaction to the Islam of the *riwayat* which is stated to have thwarted progressive urges and created in certain earnest minds the sense of frustration and the impelling counter urge to seek refuge in the Qur'an alone.

Standing at the moment outside of the Nadwah but powerfully inclined to its view, there is Professor Dr. 'Abd al-'Aziz El-'Arousy, of the Ibrahimiyyah University, Cairo, Egypt. He thinks that the Qur'an should be sufficient. To make sure of this, he suggests that an attempt should be made on certain lines indicated by him to catch the meaning of the *Muhkamāt* and *Mutashabihāt*<sup>a</sup> and gather all principal laws, rules and instructions, and then see if there is anything missing to complete the picture. If there is nothing missing, his considered view is that there should be "no need to give ourselves the trouble of testing this enormous number of the *Hadith* for no use or purpose". Evidently the notion at work here is that the Qur'an is intended to function merely as a code of social ethics or a code of law and that its ideology does not touch anything beyond the social aspects of human life.

The attitude of the Nadwah is in essential respects upheld in India and Pakistan by the Maulana Muhammad Aslam Jairajpuri, Jami'ah-i-Milliyah, Delhi, India; Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Parvez, Karachi, Pakistan; Professor Muhammad Ajmal Khan, at present Private Secretary to the Education Minister in the Government of India; the Maulana 'Ataullah Palwi, Chapra, India; and the Maulana Muhammad Yasin of Karachi, Pakistan.

The Maulana Muhammad Aslam Jairajpuri is a well-known scholar devoted to Islamic historiography. He regards all *Hadith* as apocryphal and of no concern to the *Muhkamāt*<sup>7</sup> of the Qur'an. He is willing to concede only historical significance to them, without, however, defining the specific character of the significance so attached. A like attitude is observed by the Maulana 'Ataullah Palwi. Mr.

Ghulam Ahmad Parvez is the author of a monumental work, the *Ma'arif al-Qur'an*, in four volumes, and the force behind the *Tulu'-i-Islam* of Karachi. His views are akin to those of the Maulana Muhammad Aslam Jairajpuri, although he admits the desirability of sifting the *Hadith* literature with a view to getting a picture of "the period in which the Prophet of Islam and his companions lived". In his view the *Hadith* constitute the history of *Din*,<sup>7a</sup> and not *Din* itself, which "has been given in its complete form in the Qur'an". Professor Ajmal Khan is the author of several Qur'anic studies, including an important treatise on the chronological order of the Qur'an. A retesting of the *Hadith* literature is considered by him as absolutely unnecessary. He invites prior concentration on the study of the Qur'an, and, as an aid to it, of the earlier sacred books, as also of what he styles the *Kutub-i-Shaitaniyyah*<sup>8</sup> set against them. His aim in this is to effect a rearrangement of the contents of the Qur'an in chronological order, and then, on the basis of this order, to frame a biographical sketch of the Prophet. It is only when this stage is reached that he would go to the *Hadith* or *riwayat* for the requisite biographical material. The question which needs to be considered is whether a chronological arrangement of the Qur'an is ever possible without a prior study of the biographical details of the Prophet's life. These four scholars emphatically assert that the Qur'an is self-sufficient, an attitude similar to, though not so rigid as, the one assumed by the Nadwah Ansar al-Quran. The Maulana Muhammad Yasin's attitude, however, is rigid enough to classify him with the Nadwah. He regards the *Hadith* literature as a "bee-hive" and warns us against venturing to touch it.

A letter received from M. Claude Renaviny, Moulins, France, supports this group. He says: "The *Hadith*, even authentic, is completely outside the pale of revelation. Revelation is contained only in the Book of God, the Qur'an. God, the Most High, knows the least of our needs, and He would not have given us an incomplete book standing in need of additions from a human being even though he be the Prophet himself. It is to be admitted that the Qur'an is sufficient unto itself, and covers all that man requires to lead a life agreeable to God. This opinion, of course, is not mine only. It is that of the great 'Omar and of the Prophet himself."

As a protest in favour of the Qur'an, the attitude of these scholars certainly calls for respect and sympathy. But the fact cannot be overlooked that it creates a lacuna in our knowledge of the working of the Prophet's mind. As a plan of life, or as a code of principles and directives, the Qur'an is certainly sufficient. But the question forces itself on our attention: should not the personality of the Prophet count in our appreciation of the Qur'anic principles? A principle enhances its value, if it proves workable or works out satisfactorily in action. The Qur'anic plan was but revealed piecemeal or disclosed in the context of the circumstances of the Prophet's life as they developed from time to time. It was meant to be followed by him in the first instance. How the Qur'an was actually lived in the life of the Prophet should therefore have significance for us; for he is meant by the Qur'an to be a pattern for us. Surely, a knowledge of how the Prophet implemented the "word" of the Qur'an in the circumstances of his personal life and of the community which he raised round him, cannot be willingly or deliberately kept out of sight. Even as we are keen on knowing the meaning of the word of the Qur'an, so also should we be intent on knowing the Prophet himself, who indeed was the *Qur'an in action*. True, an outline of the Prophet's personality and activity is afforded in the Qur'an itself. But should we deny



ourselves a fuller knowledge of him, if that were possible, as an aid to a possibly fuller appreciation of the word of the Qur'án? For this we cannot avoid going to the *riwayat*, which, as things stand, are the only source of our knowledge of the history of the Prophet outside the Qur'án. True also that these *riwayat* are mostly apocryphal and have gone to shroud the picture of the Prophet. But that does not argue that we should not attempt to lift the shroud. Attempts have been made in the past to sift the fact from the fable. Since they have proved to be inadequate, fresh attempts and on fresh lines need to be made in the same direction, and the process continued even after us, if found necessary, till the picture is fully resuscitated. If that were done, the ultimate gain will clearly be that of the Qur'án itself. This is a standpoint which I trust our friends of the Nadwah Ansar al-Quran and those who think alike with them everywhere will not fail to reconsider.

Some of the scholars of this group, as pointed out above, do favour a re-examination of the *Hadith* literature with a view to affording a correct picture of the period in which the Prophet lived and worked. Indeed, Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Parvez would regard such a picture as "a boon to mankind". But none of these scholars is prepared to let this material serve as an index to the *Din* of Islam or as an aid to the study of the Qur'anic *Muhkamat*.<sup>9</sup> The attitude is not easy to appreciate. The age in which a prophet lives and works cannot be treated as something unrelated to his mission. It has a meaning for him, for he meets its call. He takes it up and re-shapes it by impressing his personality thereon. Every biographical detail of his fits into his mission, and one cannot discard it as of no value to it. The issue grows serious when it is earnestly put forward that we have no need to enquire of the Prophet how he implemented even the injunctions of the Qur'án expressed but in general terms, since such injunctions call for fresh details in every age. This proposition is advanced by Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Parvez.

Answering the contention of certain schools of thought that the details fixed by the Prophet in such cases are immutable, or are to be in force for all times, Mr. Parvez says:

"The presumption cannot stand scrutiny. If the details were to remain immutable for ever, they should have been incorporated either in the Qur'án or the Prophet would have given an authenticated collection of his traditions to the *Ummat*.<sup>10</sup> As neither course was adopted, the intention apparently was that the details should not remain immutable for ever. The intention in giving only broader principles in the Qur'án was that every generation should formulate details to suit the requirements of their age. Thus *Din* has to become an embodiment of 'permanence and change', eternal laws given in the Qur'án plus varying details determined from age to age in the light of these laws. There is thus no point in finding out today the details formulated in the time of the Prophet. Even if they are ascertained correctly, something which, as stated above, is impracticable, the only purpose they can serve will be that during such and such period, the requirements of the time necessitated such and such details. In other words, they will constitute the history of *Din* and not *Din* itself, which has been given in its complete form in the Qur'án".

The thesis is ominous. Had it been confined to the *Mu'amalat*,<sup>11</sup> or the laws of transactions, the proposition might have seemed as of a piece with the modernist tendencies at work in the Middle East, dealt with in the next section of this article, aiming at the separation of law from

religion, and examined it on its own merits. But if it is to invade the domain of *'Ibadat*<sup>12</sup> or the devotional part of Islam and other fields of life as well, or applied to them in logical sequence, the consequences to Islam might prove tragic. The rational step is to ascertain first by investigation what actually were the details fixed by the Prophet under each general regulation prescribed by the Qur'án, and also his principle of fixing details, and then decide in what manner they might be applied to our times. It is never a healthy exercise to pit oneself against professional reactionaries and answer them, word for word, and develop in the process counter extremism. If the professionals should say that every little detail advanced in the *riwayat* is immutable and binding for all time, the answer to it is not just the opposite of it. If the Prophet had no time in his crowded life normally to codify details under the Qur'anic injunctions expressed but in general terms, the conclusion is certainly not warranted that he meant them to be replaced by fresh ones altogether the moment he was off the scene. The details were, after all, matters of routine practice, and would have been known to everyone around him, and would have adjusted themselves normally to the requirements of changing time under the guiding light of the Qur'anic ideology but for the tragic disturbances which beset them in the first centuries of Islam. The record of the Prophet's life and work that has come down to us is, therefore, as observed by Mr. Parvez, "an admixture of truth and untruth". But it is certainly not impossible to extract the truth out of it and relate it to the Qur'án.

I now pass on to the next group.

#### IV

### An examination of the views of those who believe in the vague phrases of the "Spirit of Islam"

Standing aside from either of the two groups referred to above — the out-and-out traditionists, and the out-and-out Qur'anists — we meet a third group of scholars to whom the "spirit or essence of Islam" alone matters. This group may be divided into two sets — one represented by Professor A. A. Fyze, a member of the Union Public Service Commission, New Delhi, India, and the other by Mr. Ahmed Emin Yalman, Editor of the *Vatan*, Istanbul, Turkey, once a close associate of the late Atatürk. The two display different facets of one and the same attitude. While Professor Fyze is keen on separating religion from law and subjecting the latter to "the highest norms fixed by modern juristic thinking", and the former including its dogma to the "principles of higher criticism", Mr. Yalman is out to discard the entire framework of Islam in its relation both to law and religion, and rely on the "real spirit of Islam" for a "virtuous honest life".

The two scholars are not averse to, indeed, they do severally express satisfaction at, the idea of a retesting of the *Hadith* literature as a scholarly attempt. But it is to be noted that the purposes to which they would refer the results of investigation are fundamentally different from the purposes kept in view by the Academy. While our main objective is to re-orientate Islamic thought for the world of today in the light of the Qur'anic ideology, the aim of Professor Fyze and Mr. Yalman in particular is to refashion it in the light of modern Westernism, leaving Islam to be a matter of the spirit only. Says Mr. Yalman, for instance:

"Sifting the true gold out of the masses of *Khurafat*<sup>13</sup> and *riwayat* is certainly a laudable undertaking. The work projected regarding the *Hadith*



literature is a long-term and useful scholarly work. But in case the purposes are not clearly determined beforehand, a re-orientation of Islamic thought will not be attained and unique opportunities which the present general religious crisis offers to Islam to take a radical line on a strictly secular and rational basis will be wasted. With courage and enthusiasm a great deal can be attained, and unfavourable outlook in the Islamic world may experience a metamorphosis and complete reversal."

Let us look into the standpoint of this group a little closely.

In his paper entitled *Islamic Law and Theology in India*, a copy of which he kindly sent to me, Professor Fyzee discloses what he calls a tentative scheme for a modern reinterpretation of the *Shari'ah*. He divides his scheme into two parts — fundamental principles and applied principles — and suggests under them an elaborate list of angles from which the *Shari'ah* might be re-examined. He says:

"If the complete fabric of the *Shari'ah* is examined in this critical manner, it is clear that in addition to the orthodox and stable pattern of religion new forms will arise, perhaps differing widely in different countries, some of them full of defects and shortcomings; but gradually a substantial body of clearly thought-out doctrine will emerge which will be the basis of a scientific reinterpretation of Islam. Such restatement will give strength and solace to the many who have lost faith in the orthodox interpretation but retain their loyalty to the essence of Islam. To them we may be able to repeat with Aristotle, 'The one remains, the many change and pass'."

This is admittedly adding to the confusion already prevailing in the body of Islam. To provoke confusion in the hope of evolving a stable order is certainly not a procedure which will inspire confidence. It may even look like courting disaster. What may, however, call for rational consideration is his leading principle of separating law from religion and on which his entire plan rests. He says:

"The first task is to separate logically the dogmas and doctrines of religion from the principles and rules of law. To me it is an axiom that the essential faith of man is something different from the outward observance of rules; that moral rules apply to the conscience, but that legal rules can be enforced only by the State. Ethical norms are subjective; legal rules are objective. The inner life of the spirit, the 'Idea of the Holy', must to some extent be separated from the outward forms of social behaviour. The separation is not simple; it will even be considered un-Islamic. But the attempt at a rethinking of the *Shari'ah* can only begin with the acceptance of this principle."

In pursuance of this principle, he poses, among other questions, the following:

"What is the present state of the law? How far does it fall short of the highest norms fixed by modern juristic thinking? In what way can the rules be amended, repealed or sustained so as to conform to modern concepts of social justice and to promote the social well-being of the Muslim community as an integral part of society in general?"

Professor Fyzee is evidently influenced by the modernist movements in the Middle East, where, as pointed out by Professor Majid Khadduri, Professor of Middle Eastern Studies, John Hopkins University, in his paper, *Secularization and Islamic Law*, presented at the Princeton University

Colloquium, and which he has kindly permitted me to make use of here, "the introduction of Western civil codes operating side by side with Islamic law has raised the problem of reconciling the two systems in order to avoid conflict". A movement is already afoot there to secularize Islamic law, particularly through the contribution in the field of law made by Dr. Sanhuri, of Egypt, who is stated to have prepared a new civil code for Egypt, Syria and Iraq. This is considered to be an advance on the late Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh's modernization movement which aimed at "combining the best of Islam and modernism by his arguing that essentially there was no conflict between Islam and Western civilization". Dr. Sanhuri's purpose is to separate the devotional part of the *Shari'ah* from the penal and civil parts, and overhaul the latter on the following lines:

- (1) "The adoption of Western rules and principles which are not covered by Islamic law, that is, where the *Shari'ah* is silent about matters dealt with in Western law."
- (2) "The adoption of Western law which in principle is in conformity with Islamic law, but is not dealt with in such details as would fit the conditions of modern life as influenced by the West. Western law may be adopted to cover such new phases of modern life as are not in conflict with Islamic law."
- (3) "The adoption of Western law which may take the place of certain *Shari'ah* rules that have become obsolete."

While this move aims at only partial replacement of the Islamic law by the Western, Mr. Ahmed Emin Yalman's attitude is to sidetrack the entire framework of Islam and entertain only the "spirit of Islam". He says:

"Every country with a preponderance of Muslim population will insist like Turkey to have secular government, to keep religion out of discussions from politics, law and science, to give equal opportunities to all its citizens, and feel free to follow a policy dictated by its own environmental conditions and by considerations of its own security. We have no need to go through the phases of conflict in the West between authority and reason. We should stand for reason in scientific matters and not to attempt to make a compromise with religious thought."

"We should prepare a purely spiritual field for Islam: A constant struggle to improve ourselves to be worthy of ourselves, exercise altruism, charity. Religion should not mean mechanical prayers as a running account with God against sins, but a virtuous honest life. How far and how we pray for purposes of self-discipline should be a matter of our personal concern of which we do not owe any account to anybody, but directly to God, considering self-styled intermediaries as impostors acting for their own benefit. Islam does not allow a Muslim to judge the acts of other Muslims. It orders that requirements of changing times should be followed. With these basic elements, it is possible to erect a wonderful and most up-to-date religious conception, remaining true to the *real spirit of Islam*."

It may be observed here that neither Professor Fyzee nor Mr. Yalman has tried to explain what actually is meant by "the essence of Islam", or "the real spirit of Islam", or show how and out of what material it can be raised up for our view, or how it differs or is distinguished from what is, nowadays, comfortably termed "natural morality".

Mr. Yalman has in reality given expression to the mind



which characterized the leaders of the Turkish Revolution of the 1920's when, apparently tired of the medieval reactionaryism dwelling in their midst, they chose to go completely Western.

### **The Revolution in Turkey lost a great opportunity of re-orientating the thought trends of the world of Islam**

This revolution, undoubtedly, was a great event in the history of Turkey. But it would have been an equally great event in the history of Islam as well, had it taken a form different from what it actually assumed. In so far as the leaders adopted the principle of democracy, they did what the Qur'an could always approve. The task was imperative and well done. As the general elections of 1950 and 1954 have proved, democracy has taken root in the Turkish soil and brought glory to the Turk. But the wholesale rejection of the *Shari'ah* and the simultaneous adoption in its stead of Western law—was it equally imperative? Could not the question have been put off for consideration in calmer moments till democracy could function in full dress, and find itself in a position to express the real voice of the Turkish people? True, as Professor Hifzi Timur of Istanbul University points out, the revolutionary authorities did appoint a committee to "prepare out of the existing religious codes an overall code such as might efficaciously regulate legal relationships throughout the country". True, also, that discussions by the representatives of the different schools of Muslim jurisprudence lasting over a year were "marked by frequent impasses resulting ultimately in an absolute dead end". But was that a sufficient reason to rush headlong to make an abject surrender to the Swiss Code, Italian Criminal Code, German and Italian laws of land and sea trade, the Neufchâtel procedural law, and the rest? A revolutionary government which had the power to take such a violently radical step also had the power to appoint another committee, this time composed of "jurists" specifically directed to rise above the rivalries between the traditional schools of Muslim jurisprudence and to refer the entire problem to the principles or ideologies of the Qur'an, the one unerring source of Islamic inspiration, and prepare a code of public law which, while preserving out of the old all that deserved preserving, absorbed from Western law also all that was agreeable to it, and thus stamp on its visage the distinctive impress or hallmark of the Qur'anic way of life. Had this been done, Turkey would have led a revolutionary movement of *Ijtihad*<sup>14</sup> throughout the Muslim world, resulting in a happy re-orientation of Islamic thought and life in the context of the present-day world. For Turkey, notwithstanding its abolition of the Turkish Caliphate, was still a name to conjure with among the Muslim masses all over the world. But its rulers missed the opportunity. They were too self-centred at the time.

The opportunity is still there. The heart of the Turkish people still pulsates with Islam. They could go and did in fact go with their leaders in democratizing their State, as the move, far from being repugnant to their sentiment, was in the best traditions of Islam. But they could not march forward equally well with them willingly in the field of religion. The events of the last few years have demonstrated that religion is still a factor to reckon with in the life of the Turkish people. "This explains," to quote the admission of Professor Timur himself, "why some amendments have been and can be made to the new Turkish legal system." Let us hope that the process will continue until the entire body of borrowings from Western law is baptized with the Qur'anic touch and given currency in the name and with the seal of Islam; for nothing from the West will be repugnant to Islam

if it is moulded to fit into the ideology of the Qur'an. Side by side, the trend to retrace steps, or the urge among the Turkish masses to foster their emotional attachment to Islam, needs to be carefully watched, and directed along lines which will keep them close to the Qur'anic conception of life, and prevent them from relapsing into the medieval obscurantism from which they were at first intended to be rescued — an obscurantism thriving on anti-Qur'anic concepts generated by forged *riwayat* attributed to the Prophet.

The view advanced by Mr. Yalman that "we should prepare a purely spiritual field for Islam" by keeping "religion out of discussions from politics, law and science", or the axiom mooted by Professor Fyzee that "the essential faith of man is something different from the outward observance of rules" and that therefore law should be kept separate from religion, is a subject big enough for a separate treatment. But since the question has been raised, it may be pointed out here that this concept of life has no basis or foundation in the Qur'anic thought. "Faith" divorced from "deed" has no *locus standi* in Islam.

### **The Islam of the Qur'an is not for mere contemplation or for a code of rituals**

The Islam of the Qur'an is not a name for mere contemplation or for a code of rituals or abstract doctrines. It is a name for a particular style of thought and living, a plan of life, which if properly followed lets one live in peace with one's own self and in peace with one's external world of relations. "Believe and work" is the Qur'anic directive. The values of life postulated by the doctrinal beliefs are to be translated into appropriate action. The process is designated "Islam", and gives a distinct personality to the individual, and projects in the social sphere a distinct type of culture and a distinct type of civilization resting thereon. In this process, spirit and body do not function in separate compartments. They work in harmony with each other in every situation, in relation both to self and society. Even prayer, which Mr. Yalman or Mr. Fyzee will regard as a purely personal affair of an individual, is, in the Qur'anic scheme, not just a state of inert subjectivity. On the other hand, it is an action of the spirit, a discipline in social morality. Indeed, in its congregational form, it functions as a social institution and levels up social inequalities by requiring one and all to stand shoulder to shoulder in a line on terms of equality before God. Life in Islam is thus intended to be an integral entity, the values of life which it upholds supplying the requisite spiritual background to every activity. Under such a concept of life, no distinction arises between law and religion, and terms such as "secular law", "secular State" and "secular life" do not bear any meaning whatsoever.

### **In Islam there is no clericalism, hence no secularism**

The term "secularism", be it noted, had its origin in the history of Protestant Christianity, as opposed to the "Clericalism" of the Papal Church, and can therefore have no valid place in an order of life such as Islam where clericalism in every form is taboo. The term has acquired a new connotation of late, denoting regulation of worldly affairs by worldly methods uninfluenced by religion. But can any system of life, however professedly worthy, survive or maintain itself for any length of time, if it does not rest on some spiritual law of life? Is it not a fact that the so-called secularism of the West is, in reality, or in the ultimate analysis, deeply rooted in the Graeco-Roman Christian values of life, and that it is not correct to say that it has nothing to do with religion of any kind? Professor Timur may lull himself into the belief that "the overall legal



innovation that took place in Turkey was not a transition from the legal machinery of one religion to that of another, for Western judicial systems are of a secular nature divorced from religious legal provisions". But may it be suggested that, in a system, it is not the machinery that gives it its distinctive character? That is changed from time to time, to suit administrative needs or convenience. On the other hand, it is the principles underlying it which mark its distinguishing quality and which mould and remould its provisions as warranted by the demands or exigencies of time. This is a matter for friends in the Arab countries, who after the example of Turkey seem inclined to transplant Western secularism into their soil.

If the Muslim law as codified a thousand years ago seems enmeshed in an intricate network of conflicting *riwayat*, and on that account is proving unsatisfactory to the Muslim in the context of the present-day world, the proper course is not to replace it bodily by Western law, but to rescue it from the clutches of the *riwayat* and reshape it in conformity with the principles constituting the Qur'anic ideology in a manner agreeable to the demands of time. And if in this process the need is felt to incorporate into it any provision of Western law, the Qur'anic ideology, as I understand, will always be found ready to absorb and claim it as its own everything agreeable to it, or not repugnant to its basic principles of morality; for is not the Prophet reported to have said, "Knowledge is the lost property (camel) of the Muslim; take it back wherever found"? And there is so much in Western law which in spirit and principle may be acceptable to the Qur'anic ideology. The caution of the Prophet is, however, always there to keep one steady: "Take that which is clean, and discard that which is unclean".

### Ijtihad

In this process of assimilation or naturalization, the distinction that is to be kept in view is not between "religion" and "law", because in the Qur'anic concept of life the distinction is not maintainable. The distinction tenable is between "faith" and "action" between "spirit" and "its manifestation", the two constituting together the *Din*, the way, the religion of Islam, the manifestive function of which taking on two forms — the devotional and the social. What defines and regulates this function is the law of Islam. One may separate the devotional part of it called *'Ibadat* from the social called the *Mu'amalat* covering every field of public life outside the purely devotional. The law pertaining to the social side or the public law may be given and needs to be given a separate treatment, and restated in the context of every new situation. The provision is already there in the Qur'an to settle such things by means of *Mushawarah* or consultation among themselves. But every readjustment will have to be referred to the internal principles of movement implicit in the Qur'anic ideology. For, a re-orientation or *Ijtihad* is always a disclosure of latent potentialities for self-development, but never a superimposition or a supersession of the original. In this process, the Qur'anic norms of social justice applied will not be found to fall short, as Professor Fyzee might fear, of any Western norms.

It may be stated here that the institution of *Ijtihad* was once a dynamic factor in the development of Islamic law. The four Sunni schools of jurisprudence were themselves the result of *Ijtihad*. The closing of its door after the fall of Baghdad in the seventh century of the Hegira has been the primary cause of decadence in Islamic jurisprudence. And although the reopening of the door was recommended every now and then in subsequent centuries by the earnest among

the '*Ulama*, Islamic jurisprudence has really not had the freedom yet to recuperate its health and display fresh energy.

The primary cause for this state of affairs is the fact that rarely during this period of decadence was any systematic attempt made jointly or even severally by the different schools to study the effective causes of legal rules in Islam. Not that the spirit and principles of Muslim jurisprudence, as formulated in the early centuries of Islam, were against fresh interpretation of even sacred texts touching law. In fact, as Dr. Sobhi Mahmassani, of Beirut, the Lebanon, succinctly points out in his paper *Adaptation of Islamic Jurisprudence to Modern Social Needs*, presented at the Princeton University Colloquium, the Arabic version of which he has kindly sent me, there were three distinct situations in which a change in interpretation was allowed by "many Caliphs and jurists". They were:

*First*, in the case of necessity or public interest.

*Second*, where the effective cause (*'Illat*) or *raison d'être* of a legal rule had ceased to exist. It is one of the principles of the science of *Usul* (sources of Islamic jurisprudence) that: "A legal rule based on an effective cause depends for its existence upon the continuation of its effective cause".

*Third*, where a legal rule is based on custom or usage, and these change with time, the text may be differently interpreted, and consequently the rule may be changed in order to follow the new custom.

With such elasticity even in the orthodox principles of Islamic jurisprudence, it should not be difficult to re-interpret, wherever necessary, the provisions of the inherited Islamic law in the context of present-day life. This is the immediate task before the Muslim world. For, be it remembered, under the very noses of our orthodox '*Ulama* and *Mujtahid*,<sup>15</sup> and our friends of the first group themselves who would like to introduce greater rigidity into their medieval outlook, Westernism has in one form or another made considerable encroachments on the traditional *Shari'ah*, and unless its pace is wisely controlled by the governments of Muslim countries supported by their intelligentia, the entire fabric of it, so much shaken already, will at no distant date be deformed out of recognition.

The caution is the greater at the present hour when, in dire necessity, Muslim countries have been obliged to accept various economic and technical aids organized by the West. The plans under them, assisted by the technology pertinent to each, have the tendency to give to the people among whom they operate a taste for Western values or standards of material living which they cannot maintain unless they resolve themselves into permanent appendages of the West. That is the danger inherent in the situation and can be met effectively by referring the benefits accruing from these plans to the purposes, principles and values of life upheld by the Qur'anic ideology.

Reform in law and life among the Muslims is at this moment necessary even without reference to the pressures of Western technology. In this, the efforts of previous reformers or *mujtahidun*<sup>16</sup> will afford considerable assistance. The present generation is to further their work in the light of the present-day demands of life. But before they embark on a positive programme enabling them to come back into their own, they will have, in the first instance, to steady themselves by warding off the onslaughts of Westernism by absorbing its shocks in the manner already suggested. Else a tacit adoption, partial or wholesale, of Western law and life in a social *milieu* resting against an historical background different from that of the West will at best be a bleak imitation or mimicry. It will smother their creative faculty and



disable them to make any distinctive contribution to world life. It might even prove a drag on Westernism itself. For this imitation, at the most, might bring material gain only to a fraction of the Muslim population — the governing or the upper classes of Muslim society, who in most cases have already grown accustomed not so much to the bright as to the seamy side of Western life. The masses who cannot in the present set-up of things materially profit by the change, though attracted to it in diverse ways, will lose balance and become a serious problem both for their governments and the West. Hence the caution given above to relate every innovation or adoption from the West to the basic principles of the Qur'án and the primary moral needs of the common man. That should be the short-range arrangement. It will prepare the Muslims to take stock of the situation in a proper frame of mind. An overall reformation is, however, a long-range process, and can only be achieved by allowing the Qur'anic values of life to function in full form in their midst. And this is possible only when we have released the Qur'án from

(To be Concluded)

the dead weight of such of the *riwayat* as have compromised or sidetracked its principles and purposes.

- 1 Literally anything that is heard. In common parlance the words of, or reports from, the Prophet Muhammad.
- 2 A word used in the Qur'án about the nature of the verses in it meaning fundamentals.
- 3 An Arabic word used to denote the Muslim community as a whole.
- 4 The learned in Islamic lore.
- 4a *Riwayat* means narratives; *Mutawatir* are such narrations as have been related by numerous authorities.
- 5 One who relates a tradition. 6 See 4a.
- 6a A word used in the Qur'án to denote the nature of those verses which are allegorical or whose meanings are not apparent.
- 7 See 2. 7a An Arabic word meaning "religion".
- 8 Literally "the Satanic books". 9 See 2.
- 10 See 3. 11 Laws of transactions.
- 12 Devotional institutions. 13 Absurdities.
- 14 Literally "to strive after". As a legal term it means to strive after finding a solution to a problem in the light of the Qur'án and the *Hadith*.
- 15 The active participle of the infinitive *ijihad* (see 14).
- 16 The plural of (see 15).

## BOOK REVIEW

*PIETRO'S PILGRIMAGE*, by Wilfred Blunt. Published by James Barrie, Ltd., London, 1953. Price 21/-.

This is an interesting story of a Roman nobleman's travels from Rome to India and back in the seventeenth century. The book, as described by the author, is midway between a biography and a description of the Near and Middle East in those days.

Pietro Della Valle, who, according to Gibbon, was a "gentleman and a scholar", belonged to one of the oldest and most illustrious families in Rome. He commenced his journey in 1614 C.E. with the object of recovering his health, which had broken down after an unhappy love affair. Pietro's health was soon restored and his heart mended when he married a Nestorian Christian in Baghdad; but his wife died after only five years of marriage.

Pietro went on his travels as a Catholic pilgrim, and he was naturally preoccupied with Catholicism; but the work is nevertheless of great interest to a Muslim, because it portrays the far from friendly attitude of the Christian world to Islam at that time.

Pietro's first port of call was Constantinople, where he spent thirteen months. Turkey even at the beginning of the seventeenth century was still a first-rate power. The Turk, though he still remained for the Christian "a barbarian who enslaved his women and clung to the filthy errors of Islam", compared very favourably with the Western European, being cleaner, more disciplined and charitable.

Pietro, who was in Constantinople at the sunset of its glory, described everything from the architecture (he even suggested that Michelangelo might have had the dome of the mosque of St. Sophia in mind when he designed St. Peter's) to the food, clothes, people and the many festivals of fabulous *Arabian Nights* splendour.

Pietro also visited Alexandria, and the densely populated city of Cairo, and then went to Sinai and Jerusalem, which he visited during the Easter festivities. He later visited Aleppo and Baghdad, and he said that in Baghdad there was no Christian church and only a handful of "corrupt priests", who were so confused about religious matters that they could sometimes be seen kissing, from pure ignorance, the tomb of some "Muslim charlatan" or heard invoking, with no harm meant, the sudden succour of Muhammad or 'Ali.

Pietro spent some years in Persia during the reign of Shah 'Abbas, whom he knew personally. Shah 'Abbas was distinguished for his military achievements and for the creation of one of the most magnificent capitals of the world, the city of Isfahan, which Wilfred Blunt describes through the eyes of Pietro and other Europeans who visited it at that time. We are told that on the twenty-first day of Ramadhan was celebrated the death of 'Ali, when processions led by men carrying biers, and accompanied by a display of mass hysteria, proceeded through the town. 'Abbas, if he happened to be in Isfahan, always enjoyed involving two rival processions in a fight. At Little Bairam, a female camel crowned with violets was led through the streets and publicly sacrificed, its flesh and hairs being eagerly contested for by the pious. In describing the festival of Husain, Pietro tells us that at this season nothing could be heard in the streets but lamentation; that black clothes were almost compulsory, that no one shaved or bathed, and that all pleasure ceased. "Many poor people," says Pietro, "were accustomed at this time to bury themselves up to the neck in the streets, covering their heads with a pot round which earth was piled. Near them squatted friends who begged on their behalf. Every day at noon mullas preached in the mosques and squares, on the subject of Hussein's death, to audiences 'bathed in tears, sighing and moaning'."

Of the royal mosque, the finest building in Isfahan, Pietro has nothing to say beyond that it was under construction. Presumably it had not yet received its dazzling veneer of tiles, nearly half a million of which were used internally and externally.

The book also takes us to Moghul India. There is a description of one of the most remarkable institutions in Goa — the Royal Hospital for Men — which seems to have been at least three hundred years ahead of its time. Pietro then visited some of the petty rulers of the south, and he saw a part of India which was visited at that time by few Europeans.

We are given a description of the food, clothes and the economic and social conditions of the people he met. The author has tried, with success, to convey the real atmosphere and the magic of the East. The book is well produced and has twenty-nine plates. It makes light and easy-going reading.



# A CALL TO THE YOUTH OF ISLAM

By Ebrahim Ahmed Bawany

*Honorary Treasurer of the*

## FIRST INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF MUSLIM YOUTH

*Held at Karachi, Pakistan*

**From 1st to 7th January, 1954**



*Ebrahim Ahmed Bawany*

### **Why yet another inter-Islamic conference ?**

We, the organizers of the International Assembly of Muslim Youth, are not unaware of the past failures of some of the International Muslim Conferences held at different times and in different places. Some of the organizations have rendered valuable services indeed, and continue to do so, though enough publicity is not being done to apprise the people of their useful contributions. We are, however, not at all satisfied, and knowing, as we do, the causes of the inherent defects of some of these Inter-Islamic Conferences, we are determined that the International Assembly of Muslim Youth benefits by the past experiences and succeeds in becoming an effective permanent body, of which the Muslim youth can be well proud of.

We feel we shall be responsible before God if we make no positive endeavour to unite the Muslims in general and Muslim youth in particular. The youth of today constitutes the leaders and rulers of tomorrow, and let us make an effort to galvanize the youth of Islam.

It is a sad tragedy of the present-day Muslims that they do not apply the same philosophy of life to their national and international dealings as they apply to their private and family affairs. Suppose a person of modest means finds that his wife, who is a great source of strength to him and his family, and who looks after his comfort and well-being, is ill. His old parents need care and consideration. His children are in danger of being neglected. The poor fellow finds life very difficult with all these heavy responsibilities on his shoulders and, to add woes to his miseries, he finds the prices of daily consumer commodities progressively increasing, taxing his limited purse with unbearable economic strain. What does a person in such a fix do ? Does he give up hope ? Or, does he run away from his home ? No, he does nothing of the sort. For he knows that if he did run away from his

family, it will be tantamount to a virtual suicide and self-destruction of his whole family. His aged parents would die of a broken heart. The poor wife will have to beg from door to door and, ere long, succumb to the pathetic tragedy that befell her. The children will either grow up as vagabonds or die young. Moreover, God forbid, if he left behind young uncared-for daughters, poverty, want, misery and the nefarious designs of those who trade in human flesh, will soon lead them to the markets of lust, trading on their helplessness. A person who encounters such adversities in his life would be a coward if he runs away from responsibilities to his family, leaving all roads open to disaster and destruction. Such a person, to say the least, forfeits his place in a civilized society.

But, fortunately, more often than not, people, when confronted with such trying circumstances, gather sufficient courage, patience and faith to surmount them. They are providentially blessed with hopeful situations, and instead of bleak darkness, by which they were surrounded at the gloomy hour of a dark night, find dawn approaching with a clear, bright and hopeful morning, which brings with it refreshing joys of a spring daybreak.

### **“ Our youth is confused ”**

The same drama of life, which confronts us in our individual life, engulfs us on national and even international plane. Today, that pathetic drama is still being staged everywhere, wherever the Muslims are to be found and especially so amongst the Muslim youth. Our youth is confused, frustrated, devoid of all hope. The imagination of one section of our youth that hails from well-to-do families is completely dominated by the captivating glamour of the West ; it gets submerged in the Western way of life, the which way of life is out of place and unsuitable to our requirements ; for it offers no solution to our complex problems. Also on its own merits,



It is a wrong sort of civilization, which has devoted itself solely to the service of our physical comfort, completely neglecting the urges and needs of the soul. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Western civilization is a civilization not suitable to us. To the other section, whose families are suffering hardship and are beset with poverty and want, Communism seems to be the only saviour, the only hope which offers a better standard of living and a surer agency of earning its bread and butter. It offers it an opportunity to give vent to its strong and terrible feeling of hatred towards that very small but powerful section of the society that lives in lavish luxury and has more of everything than it actually needs. But this way of life — Communism — is exclusively materialistic. Moreover, it enforces its will on others by compulsion and demands obedience under threat of severe penalties. It destroys human freedom and initiative. It reduces human beings to a herd of cattle; which have only two basic urges — the urge of hunger and the urge of sex. It destroys all other values of life, such as freedom of thought and expression, freedom from fear and freedom of free association and movement. This way of life is as unsuitable to us as that of the West.

Both these forces of extremism are the outcome of a civilization based solely on materialistic conception of life. They have succeeded in dividing the world into two camps radically opposed to each other in their very concept of materialistic existence. While each believes itself to be solely in the right, both of them have played havoc with the Muslims everywhere, and they find an easy prey in their deadly clutches. The reasons are varied: our countries are underdeveloped; we are disunited and, above all, unacquainted both with the dynamism of our religion and the effectiveness of our cultural heritage.

The minds of men will always differ in their concepts of the principles of life. The difference in course of time can be so sharp and dangerous as it is today that they threaten not only to destroy each other but also the whole human race.

God must be a cruel onlooker enjoying this pathetic drama of the human race on earth, if He has nothing to say on this crucial subject of their vital differences on the concepts and principles of life. Nay, it would be hard to believe if God does at all exist, if He were silent. But verily He does exist and surely He has given us the guidance. And I bear witness that there is no god but God and Muhammad (peace be on him!) is His last prophet and the Qur'án the final book of Divine guidance.

How can anyone in this wide world challenge us, as they so boldly do, that we cannot solve our own problems, when we loudly declare that the Holy Qur'án is a book of guidance for the whole of mankind, for all ages and all countries? To obliterate this remark of the enemies of Islam, one has to dwell at some length, which is not possible here.

### **A question we should ask ourselves**

Let us put one simple question to ourselves on this subject. How many of us, who take pride in calling ourselves Muslims, have ever taken half the trouble to understand and seek guidance from the Divine Laws of God, given to us in the Qur'án as compared with the time we spend in learning and discussing the latest theories propounded by Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, Darwin, Malthus, Einstein and a

score of others on the one side, and Marx, Hegel, Lenin and Stalin on the other? I believe, as a true believer, that we have all the answers to the riddles of life and its multifarious confusing problems. We can indeed offer a Way of Life to the human race, which can be a "Blessing unto Mankind." The concept of a Welfare State, the theories that men invent in their endeavours to carry humanity to the great height of evolution, which would offer lasting peace and prosperity, harmony and well-being to the teeming millions of human beings on earth, that state of Utopia was already reached by the Muslims during the life of our Prophet and the first four Caliphs after him, who practised what they preached and valued the Divine Law. "The Kingdom of Heaven on Earth" came and has gone. It has vanished due to our misdeeds and because we practised no more the laws of God given to us in the Holy Book. But we have to reclaim the last ground.

We want to go forward with the Qur'án and again be a "blessing unto mankind" and bring back the "Kingdom of Heaven on Earth." But before we can focus the attention and the thoughts of the world upon the examination and study of our ways of life and upon accepting our Islamic theories as the only solution to the complex problems that confront and divide the human race, we have to set our own houses in order and by our practice of the Divine Laws of God invite blessings of God upon ourselves and then invite the world to share them with us. All human beings are but children of one God, the Omnipotent, Omniscient, Omnipresent, Master of the Day of Judgment, Who loves them all and will judge every one according to his intentions and needs.

### **The guiding principles of the Conference**

Our humble efforts to call a conference of the youth of Islam from all corners of the world at Karachi during the month of January 1955 are dedicated towards the cause of awakening the Muslim youth from its sleep and slumber, guiding it towards the path of Divine Guidance and bringing home to it the fact that Islam alone is the answer to our problems and the problems of all mankind.

With this aim in view our Guiding Principles for the proposed Conference are as below:

Our Leader: The Prophet Muhammad.

Our Guide: The Qur'án.

Our Aim: To achieve solidarity based on the dynamic Islamic concept of service to humanity.

Our Ideal: To make the Muslims a "Blessing unto Mankind".

Our Policy: Friendship towards all but no compromise on principles.

In this endeavour, we seek your help and guidance if you are convinced that we are fighting for a sacred cause. We also seek your moral and material support: we need your financial support too. We hope you will be able to extend them to us, and we assure you that we shall endeavour to the best of our ability that not only this proposed Conference becomes a great success, but, through it, a permanent body may be set up, which may be a powerful springboard for Muslim youth to re-glorify Islam — a Religion, a Code and a Way of Life.





*Our picture was taken when His Majesty King Sa'ud visited the school for Bedouin boys at Musaijid, a town 72 miles from Medina. Boys trained at this school are now working in the various Government institutions. This school at Musaijid has the credit of being the first to have been opened for Bedouin boys. The number of such schools is multiplying fast under the vigilant care of the benevolent sovereign of Sa'udi Arabia*

## THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN SA'UDI ARABIA

### **His Majesty King Sa'ud takes a keen interest in public education**

Since his accession to the throne a little over a year ago, His Majesty King Sa'ud has taken a very special interest in the creation of modern and highly efficient machinery for public education, as is evidenced by the following survey based on the latest information relating to what has been achieved as well as to the projected plans now ready to be put into effect in the near future. The intelligent sense of vision and the spirit of venture adopted by the present Sovereign in his educational policy with a view to preparing healthy, conscious and responsible citizens can hardly be overlooked by any observer of the developments that have been taking place in Sa'udi Arabia during the past few months and which certainly herald an era of modern outlook and rapid progress.

The newly adopted educational policy involves an overall reorganization of the school system, staff administra-

tion and regional division on the one hand, and a substantial modification of curricula and school training so as to bring both in line with the latest findings of the science of education on the other. Such an ambitious scheme, it has been found, required the institution of an independent authority of a ministerial status with defined terms of reference and power, as well as separate financial allocations, so as to render practicable the execution of the vast and varied tasks entrusted to the new ministry. Other reasons for the new policy, which though apparently minor were by no means less effective in the realization of the reform measures, were the sincere desire to achieve efficiency, to overcome the drawbacks of short-term and improvised policies and to fix responsibility on duly authorized individuals for carrying out the set aims within this important field of national life — education. This last reason is a remarkable one, especially if observed in practice, in that it presents a new situation which is in marked contrast with the vague and often undefined rights and obligations of the civil servants.



## I.

### Reforms adopted in the administrative field

The former General Directorate of Education, now reconstituted and raised to a ministry, comprises three main divisions, each with its own departments which are designated according to their respective functions set out in a decree issued by the Minister of Education, who acts as the central authority in all matters relating to education. The three divisions are:

#### (1) *The General Directorate of Education and the General Directorate of Administrative Affairs*

Each of these is headed by a Director General who is directly responsible to, and acts under the guidance of, the Under-Secretary of the Ministry, who, in turn, acts as a liaison officer between the two Directorates and the Minister of Education.

The functions of the General Directorate of Education include, among others, the drawing up and co-ordination of school curricula and raising the standard and qualifications of the staff, both teachers and other servants of the Ministry. To the existing branches within this Directorate, i.e., the branches of Elementary and Secondary Education, of Popular Education (which acts primarily as an anti-illiteracy body) and of examinations, a number of others have recently been created. These are the branches of technical supervision, of scholarships, of physical training (and other activities outside the classroom), of medical units and of translation.

The general function of the General Directorate of Administrative Affairs covers all matters of internal administration of the Ministry, its divisions and various institutions. Among the branches coming within its jurisdiction are the branches of Administrative Supervision, Records, Staff and Stores. Its powers have been clearly defined and the technical principles which offer the necessary guidance for the staff concerned have also been laid down.

#### (2) *The Higher Council of Education*

This has been reorganized and considerably expanded. It has two main functions: to define the status and fix the salaries, etc., of the administrative staff, and to settle disputes and to ensure that the law covering the Ministry's activities be enforced in the best interests of justice to all concerned. Punctuality and efficiency of the servants of the Ministry receive special attention, and are under the constant watch of the Council, which is headed by an Under-Secretary.

#### (3) *District Officers of Education*

The Ministry, having fully realized the significant advantages of fixing responsibility and of decentralization, and in order to ease the pressure of work on the central authority, created in 1954 four District Offices of Education in the main Provinces: the Eastern, the Nejd, Medina and Jeddah. The existing six minor District Offices of Education have been brought up to seven.

## II.

### Reforms adopted in running schools and in training teaching personnel

The spirit which underlies the new educational policy of Sa'udi Arabia becomes more marked and even more daring than in the administrative field when one considers the numerous measures introduced in school management, in training teachers, in the drawing up of curricula or in the provision of social services — the last hardly dreamt of in a country whose geography has created a formidable barrier between it and the ways of the modern West. These measures have all been decreed by the Minister of Education and their execution has been entrusted to one or the other of the various above-mentioned bodies.

#### (1) *Promotion of physical training*

There is no doubt that the most significant measure adopted by the Ministry in its present drive of reform was the special attention it has paid, right from the outset, to physical training. A special branch, called the Directorate of Social Welfare and Physical Training, has been set up. In so doing the Ministry has given full recognition to the principle, agreed upon by all educators, that an individual can become a responsible and healthy citizen only through a balanced personality in which the physical, mental, social and emotional aspects have been sufficiently and equally developed.

This measure has been put into practice by making physical training a main subject in every school curriculum and a major item in activities of every school both outside and inside the classroom. Qualified instructors have been commissioned from the Arab countries with a view to developing a real spirit and an athletic movement.

#### (2) *Mobile Medical Units*

This is another of the major steps taken and entrusted to a separate branch whose main task is to cater for all the medical needs of students attending the Ministry's institutions. Teams of physicians, assistant pharmacists and nurses have been recruited and allocated to the various district offices of education. All the necessary equipment and medicines are being provided. Each district was allocated a medical unit consisting of an ambulance car, a doctor and a nurse. The unit carries out periodical tours during which all schools of the district are visited and medical treatment for pupils is provided.

#### (3) *Specialized Advisers*

For the technical management of its schools the Ministry has enlisted the services of four advisers, to whom a fifth has been added. He is an Egyptian, and has been detailed by the Egyptian Ministry of Education in order to co-operate with his colleagues in preparing the curricula and policy to be pursued in the running of schools to the best advantage of Sa'udi Arabian pupils of all grades.



The recommendations of this body of advisers are submitted for the approval of the Higher Council of Education, and cover the technical as well as the administrative functioning of the entire educational system.

One of the leading principles strictly observed by the Ministry in preparing the curricula of all stages of education is to see that they are consistent with those prepared in the other Arab countries, so as to ensure unified trends in the cultural and intellectual fields of these countries. A ministerial committee has recently completed a thorough study of all recommendations submitted by the five advisers. These recommendations, and the necessary modifications introduced, have been approved by the Council. They relate to courses to be given in the elementary and secondary schools, in the teachers' colleges and in the College of the Shari'ah Law. The modifications were introduced in the light of modern requirements, of the latest principles of education and with a view to aiding the pupil in his development as a citizen of his own community in particular and as a member of a larger community, the Arab nation, in general. The recommendations as modified are now being fully enforced.

#### (4) *Ministry's Estimates Doubled*

The ambitious programme of the Ministry to multiply all its activities in the various fields within its jurisdiction has made necessary the daring step of doubling its allocation in the latest budget, in which 48,596,152 Sa'udi Riyals (£6,250,000 approx.) have been earmarked, in contrast to about 20,000,000 Riyals expended in the previous year.

#### (5) *Development Projects*

Among the items for which allocation has been made in the Ministry's estimates is one for the construction of 269 new schools, elementary and secondary, spread over the rural and urban districts. The main purpose to be served by these schools is the elimination of illiteracy among all classes of the people and their preparation for higher education. Out of the 269 schools, 25 will be elementary, with the full course of studies as normally provided at other elementary schools. They are intended to ease the pressure on the present elementary schools and to provide nearer ones for local students and thus save them the daily journey to schools in far-off areas.

The requirements of the industrial progress of the country have been kept constantly in view, and accordingly two technical colleges were opened, one in the capital, Riyadh, and the other in Qasim. A third has also been opened in Medina, but its inauguration, scheduled for 1953, had to be postponed owing to shortage of staff and equipment for the college workshops.

Agents of the Ministry have been despatched to negotiate agreements for the purchase of equipment from well-known firms abroad. Agreement has also been reached with a number of experts to serve on the teaching staff. The satisfaction of the need for these colleges is paramount in view of the pressing demands of the country's industrialization, now progressing in every walk of life.

In addition to these three colleges, a commercial one has been opened to prepare students in intermediate commercial courses which, when completed, will qualify them for employment in trade firms, banks and financial concerns as well as in private trade.

The increasing number of schools has multiplied and

rendered urgent the demand for more teachers, especially for elementary schools. To meet this demand four additional teachers' colleges were opened in the four main towns. Four of such colleges already exist in Mecca, Medina, Ta'if and Ha'il.

Boarding houses have been attached to secondary schools for the convenience of students whose homes are too far to make the daily journey for school attendance. For a start two such houses were added to each of the secondary schools of Riyadh and Jedda, and all the facilities of a modern boarding school have been provided.

#### (6) *Commissioned Teachers*

The Ministry has shown no little zeal in establishing the closest cultural co-operation with the sister Arab countries. Measures on this line now include a considerable increase in the size of the Egyptian Educational Mission, which consists of 271 teachers engaged in all grades of schools. They teach Arabic, English, French, mathematics, sciences, education and psychology. Fourteen of them are instructors in physical training.

Apart from this Mission, there is the al-Azhar Mission, of 85 teachers (as contrasted with 63 in 1953), giving instruction in Arabic and religious subjects to students of secondary schools and colleges. The Ministry has further concluded contracts of service with 250 Palestinian teachers, who took up their duties in 1954.

#### (7) *Missions to abroad and scholarships*

A recent decree by the Council of Ministers has brought within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education all members of missions studying abroad, in all matters of their training and finance. Another decree by the Council authorized the Ministry to withdraw all Sa'udi Arabian nationals studying in foreign (non-Arab) schools of any grade and to provide them with the same education and facilities which they shall abandon in view of the fact that the national schools, when completed on the modern lines as conceived by the Ministry within its present framework of reforms, will provide the ideal type of schooling which would in no way be inferior to their foreign counterpart.

The year 1954 witnessed a record number of scholars sent to Egypt on study missions, when 46 joined the Egyptian universities to specialize in letters, commerce, medicine and agriculture. Five more were given grants to receive instruction as teachers in physical training. This is the first mission to receive training in this field and it is hoped that its members will be the pioneers of a flourishing athletic movement on their return home.

Substantial and promising developments have also taken place in the field of industrial training. Ten graduates from the industrial college of Jedda have been sent for further training in Egypt's large industrial establishments. A few teachers have also participated in the seminar, held at the training centre in Egypt (one of two in the Middle East sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), and organized to give refresher courses in basic education. The centre also trains scholars in the latest methods of fighting illiteracy and gives various courses in agriculture, hygiene, social work and other subjects designed to help towards the general welfare of the masses, especially in the rural areas.

For the first time in the history of study missions abroad,



the Ministry sent five senior teachers for summer courses in class management held in the Lebanon. The purpose of this mission was to acquaint these teachers with the latest theories in education and educational psychology.

(8) *Participation in Educational Conferences*

The Ministry has been represented at many of these conferences held in the Middle East under the auspices of the Cultural Committee of the Arab League or of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Two Saudi Arabian delegates attended the seminar held in Beirut in August 1954 on the subject "Teaching of the Social Sciences in the Universities". Others took part in the conference held in Damascus by the Arab Scout Movement. It is hoped that the similar conferences will also witness an active participation by the Ministry.

III.

Looking ahead

Already on paper the Ministry has many varied and long-term reforms which, if the necessary funds become available, should not fail to bring the educational standard of the country to the same level as that of any other modern State, proud of its cultural and technical achievements, within a matter of a few years. One of the main difficulties to which the Ministry has to apply its talents and energies is the serious shortage of school housing with the necessary modern sanitary equipment and other facilities.

But as the following abstract (of the school year 1954 when compared with some of the corresponding figures projected for 1955) and the one appended thereto will show, one can look forward with satisfaction and confidence to the future when the present drive of reforms by the Ministry should be able to ensure full education for every citizen throughout his entire school career, and before long a strong and responsible community taking its place among the respectable nations of the world would come into existence.

Our hope is fortified by the fact that the Ministry has been entrusted to the competent hands of His Highness Emir Fahd, who, through wide travel and reading, close contact with Western and Eastern affairs, and a varied education (including a good knowledge of English), will spare no effort nor financial sacrifice towards the creation of an educated class, numerous and strong enough to participate effectively in the restoration of the glory of the Arabs and the Muslims.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR 1954

Type of School	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers
Government elementary ...	312	39,888	1,473
Private elementary .....	14	3,846	179
Government secondary ...	11	1,269	147
Private secondary .....	4	428	29
Occupational .....	1	106	20
Teachers' Training			
Institutes .....	8	467	57
Teachers' Colleges .....	1	11	12
Shari'ah Law College .....	1	73	12
Evening Schools for English Language .....	6	302	29
Evening Schools for Type-writing .....	1	35	3
Total .....	395	46,452	1,961

1955

Elementary Schools to be opened in 1955 .....	269	—	—
Students to be admitted in 1955 .....	—	16,000	—

Number of schools projected brings the total of all elementary schools to 581 and the total number of all students to 62,000.

What Our Readers Say . . . .

A CALL FOR RETROSPECTION

310 Grey Street,  
Durban,  
South Africa.

Dear Sir,

Your correspondent Mr. S. M. Ahmed writes in *The Islamic Review* for August 1954 upon the subject of "A Call for Retrospection", which originally appeared in *The Islamic Review* for April 1954.

Mr. Ahmed seems sincere in his conclusions, but it is quite obvious that he is greatly misinformed very materially concerning the subject matter of his letter, namely, the recognized six books of Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad. These six books of Hadith have not, as Mr. Ahmed would seem to suggest, been exploited by the whims and idiosyncrasies of certain scholars about their pet theories on the subject of Mahdism and Mujaddidism, nor do they contain what Mr. Ahmed is pleased to call *Riwayaats*. They are, on the other hand, very materially concerned with not only "the practical demonstration by the Prophet of the way a prayer, pilgrimage or fasting is to be performed," they are

authenticated and trustworthy testimony of the behaviour, practice and recorded pronouncements of the Prophet Muhammad upon certain specified occasions, guidance whereon is as valid and necessary today as it was when the Hadith were recorded.

He also speaks of "Jewish proselytes who are responsible for all those traditions which tell us the apocryphal stories of their prophets . . . and many injunctions which are Jewish in origin, for instance, the stoning of adulteresses and witches, etc." This makes very strange reading indeed. What relation has that rather distant theme with the recognized six books of Hadith? Does Mr. Ahmed mean that these six books contain those "apocryphal stories"?

All this gives an entirely untrue impression of the position generally occupied by the aforesaid recognized six books of Hadith, whose authority and reliability, unchallenged and accepted by a long galaxy of savants and distinguished scholars of Muslim learning for the last twelve centuries, seem to now have earned the petulant disapproval of Mr. Ahmed.

Yours faithfully,

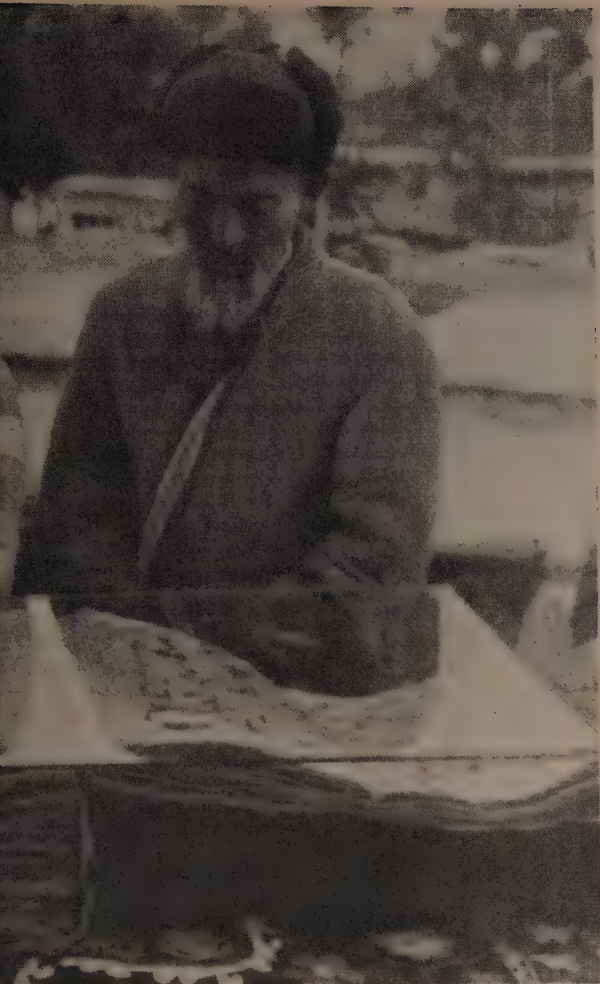
M. E. PARUK.



الحمد لله رب العالمين  
 والصلاة والسلام على  
 سيدنا محمد وآله  
 وحسن الله وجهه  
 والجميع من عباده  
 الصالحين  
 اللهم صل على  
 سيدنا محمد  
 وعلى آله  
 وصحبه  
 أجمعين

فَوَيْلٌ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ عَذَابِ اللَّهِ الَّذِي هُوَ أَلِيمٌ





(Top, centre) — A photograph of the copy of the Qur'ân which was in the Khwaja 'Ubaidullah al-Ahraar Mosque at Samarkand, Uzbekistan, U.S.S.R. Later this copy was purchased by the ruler of Turkestan, who transferred it to the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, where it was catalogued under the title of "The Samarkandi Qur'ân". It is said that this Qur'ân is the one which the Caliph 'Usman (d. 656 C.E.) was reading when he was assassinated. This MS. used to be open to the public for viewing on certain appointed days. Later the Russian Society for Antiquities published fifty copies from it under the supervision of the famous Russian calligraphist, Pissarex. This copy of the Qur'ân remained in the Imperial Library until the Bolshevist Revolution of 1918, and later, in a great procession consisting of prominent Muslim personalities, it was removed under military guard to the Administrative Offices of the Muslim Religious Administration of Russia. There it stayed for five years, and in the middle of 1923 it was transferred to Turkestan and remained in Samarkand for a while. At present it is in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan.



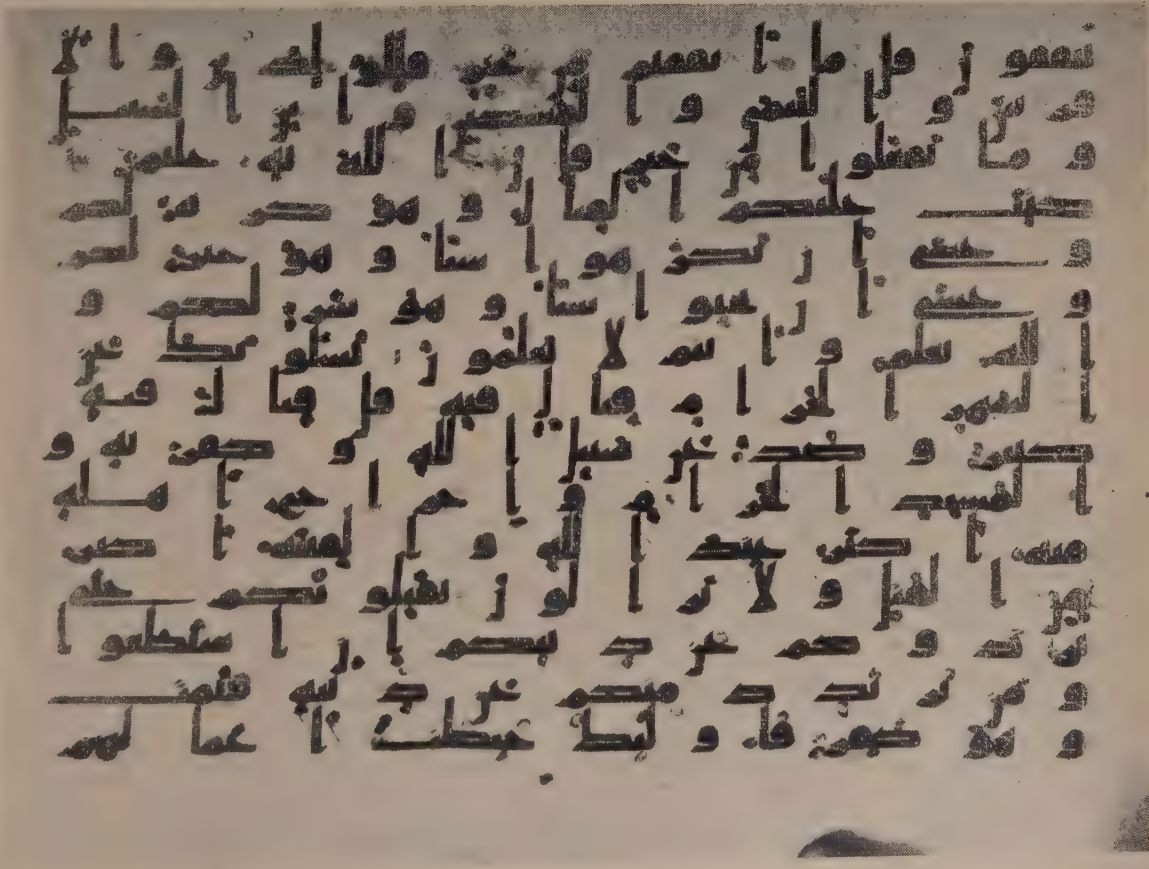
(Bottom, left) — A facsimile of a page of the Qur'ân written by the Caliph 'Ali (d. 661 C.E.)



(Bottom, centre) — A facsimile of a page of the Qur'ân written by the Caliph 'Umar the Great (d. 644 C.E.)



(Below) — A facsimile of a page of the Qur'ân written by the Caliph 'Usman (d. 656 C.E.)





# THE PALESTINE REFUGEES AND THE UNITED NATIONS<sup>1</sup>

By His Excellency  
Dr. Muhammad Fadhil Jamali

*Chairman of the Iraqi Delegation to the United Nations*

*His Excellency Dr. M. F. Jamali (left) is receiving his Honorary Doctorate of Laws from Columbia University, New York, from the President of the University, Mr. Grayson Kirk*



Two world wars were fought with millions of human lives sacrificed so that man could live in peace and security in his own home ; so that the world may have a Charter setting forth fundamental principles which control and guide international action ; so that human rights could be observed and respected. Isn't it strange that there should spring from the Jews, the very people who suffered so many persecutions in history, and who are the most vocal in their anti-persecution protestations, a group called the Zionists who should be the very people to forget all the principles of the Charter and all the provisions of the Human Rights Declaration when it comes to the recognition of Arab rights in Palestine. It is the more cruel and inhuman on the part of Zionism to ignore the right of the Arabs of Palestine to their own homes because the Arabs in particular, and the Muslims in general, have been so hospitable and generous to the Jews in several periods of history when they found refuge in Arab and Muslim lands from persecutions elsewhere.

The plight of the Arab refugees of Palestine, their destitution and homelessness, their despair, and bitterness against those who brought about their misery, is nothing less than any suffering at the hands of Hitler, for after all Hitler had a method of disposing of his enemies, thus relieving them from the pains of life, while the Arab victims of Zionism are under constant pain of humiliation, destitution, hopelessness, to say nothing of under-nourishment, lack of decent clothing, and endemic diseases.

## **Five fundamental issues involved in the Palestine refugee problem**

### **(a) *The humanitarian issue***

Many fundamental issues are involved in the Arab refugee problem. The first is the humanitarian issue. It is the Zionist disrespect for the lives and destiny of hundreds of thousands of human beings, innocent and peace-loving, who were forced out of their homes and their country for no crime they committed and no desire to be involved in any quarrel with anybody. What is involved is much more than that. It is the very foundation of the Charter which stipulates respect for the dignity of man, the sanctity of home, life and property, and for the right of self-determination, which right was so sadly violated in respect of the Arabs of Palestine.

### **(b) *The authority of the United Nations***

The second issue is that of the prestige and authority of the United Nations. Israel disregarded all those resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council which affirm the rights of the Arabs of Palestine to return to their own homes. Israel has completely disregarded Article 11 of Resolution 194 of 11th December 1948, which reads: The General Assembly "resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date ; and that compensation should be paid to the property of those choosing not to return and for the loss or damage to property which under principles of international law or in equity should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible". We wish to underline the word *earliest* for the return. Six years have elapsed and no sign of readiness on the part of Israel to implement this resolution has been shown. As we all know, Israel wishes to ignore this resolution of the General Assembly completely just as it ignored all resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine which do not suit her interests, including the one on the internationalization of Jerusalem. How could any State undermine the authority and the prestige of the United Nations, the organization to which it owes its very existence, more than to defy even those of its resolutions which emanate directly from the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights. For the Declaration of Human Rights clearly states in Paragraph 2 of Article 13: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country". But Israel denies this human right to the Arabs of Palestine.

One wonders for how long should we as an organization tolerate a State which defies not only debatable resolutions but actually the letter and spirit of the Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights.

### **(c) *Danger to peace in the Middle East***

The third issue is that of world peace in general and peace and stability in the Middle East in particular. The world today suffers from the acts of those States who flagrantly violate the Charter. This is a cause of unrest in

<sup>1</sup> Being the text of a speech made at a meeting of the *ad hoc* Political Committee of the Ninth General Assembly, the United Nations, New York, on 26th November 1954.



the world, whether this violation comes under the guise of Zionism, colonialism or international Communism. It is important to realize that with the violation of the Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights there is human misery, disturbance of peace, bloodshed and hatred; and all these breed wars, which humanity wishes most sincerely to avoid. Can anyone question the truth that the Palestine refugee situation is a genuine cause for unrest in the Middle East? Can anyone question the truth that it is endangering peace in that part of the world? Peace and stability are directly threatened by Israel's complete denial of the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights as they should be applied to the Arabs of Palestine.

*(d) Moral ideals at stake*

The fourth issue involved is that of the moral sensitivity of mankind. Permitting human misery to continue unchecked; the fact that there is no expression of revulsion or disdain to the party that is causing this human misery by those nations whose moral ideals are very high is a sad phenomenon which we hope is not a sign of moral callousness. We have often repeated that the Palestine question in general and the plight of the refugees in particular provides the best barometer for measuring human conscience. A human conscience alive and active should force Israel to yield to the Arabs their elementary rights to their homes and property.

*(e) Danger to the well-being of democracy*

The fifth issue involved is the danger threatening the well-being of democracy. For so long as Zionist propaganda and pressure can influence elections and prevent the presentation of all sides of a problem to the public, democracy is certainly vitiated and it may fall, because of a false, prejudiced or one-sided judgment to the level of poor dictatorships. Democracy to succeed must be based on truth and the whole truth. Unfortunately in the case of Palestine, we found that democracy functioned on a biased, one-sided and unenlightened way, and under pressure. The continuation of the tragedy of the refugees of Palestine is mainly a result of such Zionist propaganda, group pressure, and lack of complete information. This, we believe, puts democracy under a great strain. Those who are seriously interested in the fate of democracy should realize that the integrity and morality of democracy is at stake if one-sided Zionist propaganda is to be left alone unchecked and unbalanced by showing the people the whole truth.

For the truth about the Arab refugees of Palestine is that they are entitled to their own country, Palestine, just as any American is entitled to America, Frenchman to France, and Englishman to England. There is no power in the world, moral, material or military, that can make the Arabs of Palestine — Christian and Muslim alike — abandon their will to return to their homes and give up their rights to their own country. The truth is that no final peace or stability could be effected in the Middle East until Arab rights to Palestine are recognized. But will Zionist propaganda and Zionist economic and political pressure let this truth be understood by the world? The answer is "No", and this is the tragedy of democracy. For the doors of knowledge and channels of information are to a great extent blocked by Zionist propaganda in the great metropolitan cities of the world. Some politicians seek political and economic advantages from Zionist propaganda. Some prominent personalities have been geared to the machine of Zionist propaganda, to say nothing of Zionist power of smearing those who dare obey their conscience and be impartial in their judgment of

the Palestine problem in general, and the refugee problem in particular.

To summarize, the main issues involved in the Arab refugee problem are human dignity and respect for the law of property, the right to one's home, the prestige and authority of the United Nations Organization and the principles of the Charter, the application of the Declaration of Human Rights, peace and stability in a most sensitive and strategic part of the world, the Middle East, and the integrity of democracy and its future.

**How the Zionists are defying all standards of any civilized community in the world**

The Zionists are denying to the Arabs of Palestine the rights which have been firmly established by all the standards of any civilized community in the world, past or present. They deny the right of a people to their own homes and property. In this, the Zionists are going beyond any moral or international law and destroying the very instruments to which they owe their own existence. For the Balfour Declaration, which was the basis of the Jewish national home, specifically provided that the rights of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine shall not be prejudiced. The mandate of the League of Nations practically embodied the Balfour Declaration and again stated that the rights of the non-Jewish inhabitants should not be prejudiced. The mandatory power, Great Britain, as early as 1922, and by the mouth of Sir Winston Churchill, then Minister for the Colonies, assured the Arabs that their rights to Palestine would never be endangered. The United Nations Organization, acting in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, could never prejudice Arab rights to their own homes, and the ill-fated resolution of the partition of Palestine, which brought Israel into existence, never contained any stipulation of uprooting the Arabs from their homes. Successive United Nations resolutions never prejudiced Arab rights to return to their own homes. By what right and what power, legal or moral, can Israel deny Arab rights to return to their own homes? It is by the violation of all rights and law that she does that. This violation of Arab rights which gave rise to the refugee problem is worse than anything that colonialism has ever effected. For no colonialists as far as we know ever made the whole people of a colony homeless by usurping their homes and property. It is a genocide which if one-tenth of it had been inflicted on other peoples, especially if they happened to be Zionists, the whole world would have been shaken, for how could the civilized world tolerate depriving people of their own country, homes, property, money and social setting? But most of the civilized world is, unfortunately, hoodwinked about what the Zionists have done in Palestine to the Palestine Arabs, uprooting the majority and keeping them away from their homes and subjugating the small number of Arabs who remained in Israel to degradation, treating them as second-class citizens. I shall deal with this question later, as their treatment is directly connected with the refugee problem.

**The four arguments used by Israel in support of her defiance and violation of moral and international law**

One may ask, what are the Israeli arguments by which they try to justify this violation of moral and international law, this defiance of the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights? Here are some of the classical arguments which they bring forth. Let us examine them.

Their first argument is that the Arabs of Palestine can settle in the neighbouring Arab countries, for the Arabs have



vast territories. This argument is refuted on the following grounds: whether the Arabs have other lands or not, it is not in anyone's power to deprive the Palestinian Arab of his home. The Arab of Palestine is as much attached to Palestine as any Frenchman to France, or any American to America; added to that is his spiritual connection to the Holy Land, for Palestine is sacred to Muslims, Christians and Jews alike, and the Jews are not correct when they claim spiritual attachment to Palestine and deny it to the Muslim and Christian inhabitants. There is no spot in the Arab world that can replace Palestine to the Palestinian Arab. It is like telling a person to give up his eye; for it is a small thing and he has a large body. It is like occupying a part of England and sending the English people out of their homes simply by saying that these English people have plenty of space in the Commonwealth countries to go to. Let us have some respect for logic and common sense when we make such arguments. This Zionist argument has no legal or moral force. The Director-General's report proves beyond doubt that there is no space available for many years to come for the bulk of the refugees in any Arab country, even

harmony with the Jews in Palestine. After all, wasn't this the argument which the Zionists used for thirty years, i.e., from the inception of the Balfour Declaration in 1917 until the resolution of partitioning Palestine in 1947? Didn't the Zionists always claim that they could live in peace and harmony with the Arabs and that there was room in Palestine for both the Arabs and the Jews? Do the Israelis think that the world has forgotten this propaganda of theirs? Was it serious talking or was it deceptive propaganda used as a means for their earlier penetration? Israel could have taken in refugees in stages and gradually, if she is afraid of admitting large numbers at once. In the last six years most of the refugees could very well have been repatriated. But there is no such intention on the part of the Israelis, and this security argument holds no water. Is it feasible that the United States of America would banish all citizens of German or Italian descent because they were security risks when the United States was at war with Germany and Italy; or the United Kingdom banish the Irish because they formed a security risk? Thus, the security problem is no justification for depriving any people from their right to their homes and

property. A State run along democratic lines, treating all its citizens on an equal footing, should have no fear of alleged disorder. We believe that if the Arab refugees return to their homes and are given a sort of cantonic organization, they can live with the Jews in Palestine in complete peace and harmony and that the Zionist argument of security is not founded on truth or right, nor is it consonant with past Zionist claims that the Arabs and Jews can live together and that Palestine has room for Arabs and Jews alike. The Zionists must be untrue and insincere either in their old claims or in their present attitude towards the refugees; they cannot have it both ways.

A third argument offered is that if Arab refugees return to Palestine they will find their homes and farms occupied, their villages

destroyed, and the whole setting has changed. This is no argument against their return. For their homes and farms should be returned to them. Their villages should be rebuilt by the very money which is dedicated for relief and rehabilitation. As for the new setting in the new State, we said that a form of communal autonomy through cantonization could easily be visualized. Thus, this argument also loses its weight.

A fourth argument made by the Zionists is that the Arab States and Arab leaders are responsible for their leaving Palestine; therefore, they must care for them. It is not true



*The Arab refugee problem is the result of deliberate Zionist planning*

*This is the kind of hard life which the average Arab refugee has to lead. The tent is in shreds. The future is bleak. The prospects of a return home are meagre as a result of the Zionist policy of immigration into Palestine and failure of the United Nations to force Israel to give effect to its (United Nations) resolutions. But the Arab refugee, as the one in our picture, in common with the tens of thousands of the other refugees, is determined not to yield his right to his home in Palestine*

if the refugees gave up their rights to their own homes, which they will never do, and even if the Arab States were ready to have them permanently, which they will never do. Thus, the Zionist argument that the Arab States have vast areas and must accept the refugees is invalid and impractical.

A second argument used by the Israelis is that the Arabs are a security risk and that their return undermines the very existence of Israel. The answer to this is that the Arabs are a peace-loving people, and if they enjoy a democratic life and have a share in the management of their own affairs, there is no reason why they should not live in peace and



that Arab leaders and Arab States are responsible for the exodus of the Arabs of Palestine. It is Zionist atrocities that spread terror amongst the Arabs of Palestine before the Arab States even entered Palestine to save the lives of their brethren. We shall deal with the exodus and its causes shortly, but what we wish to establish here is that whoever is responsible for the exodus, that does not deprive those who left Palestine of their right to return, nor their right to their land and property. The fact that land and property of the refugees has been usurped, used or sold does not disqualify the owner from reclaiming his right.

Thus, we find that all the arguments used against repatriation are arbitrary, illogical and inhuman. This truth must be known to the whole world.

### **The responsibility for the refugee problem is the Zionists, as admitted by Zionist leaders**

It is most important to pin down the responsibility for the refugee problem. Who brought the refugee problem into existence? Who is immediately responsible for their plight? Who is ultimately responsible for it? We submit that the driving away of the Arabs out of Palestine has been an early Zionist design. It is a design to push out the Arabs and to replace them by incoming Zionists. This design was declared as early as the end of the first world war, when Dr. Weizmann said that he wanted Palestine to be as Jewish as England is English. How could it become so without displacing the Arabs by driving them out of the country and occupying their homes? This process of displacing the Arabs started first gradually but illegally; then it took a violent inhuman form by the Zionists after the resolution of the United Nations to partition Palestine in 1947. For what happened in the early stages, let us listen to Dr. Weizmann himself: "We merely went ahead in a small, blind, persistent way. Jews settled in Palestine and they were not expelled. They bought land, sometimes through straw men, sometimes by bribes, for Turkish officialdom was even more corrupt than Russian. Houses were built in evasion of the law. Between *baksheesh* and an infinite variety of subterfuges, the first

little colonies were created. Things got done somehow; not big things, but enough to whet the appetite and keep us going" (*Trial and Error*, p. 27).

This process of dispossessing the Arabs from their lands by illegal methods continued with a great pace under the British mandate. The Arabs of Palestine always saw the danger. They often revolted. Their revolts were suppressed by the British. They were disarmed. On the other hand, the Zionists organized the Haganah. They armed themselves. Later on they developed the Irgun and the Stern terrorist bands. When the United Nations debated the partition scheme in 1947, we warned this committee, stating the resolution was illegal and that the General Assembly had no authority to recommend partitioning a country against the wishes of the majority of its inhabitants. We also said that this resolution was bound to lead to bloodshed and misery for the Arabs would defend their existence and their homes in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter, which justifies self-defence against any injustice from whichever quarter it comes. Our warning was not heeded. But what we foresaw came true. The Arabs, of Palestine, quite defenceless and unprepared, revolted, for even a sheep would kick if you tried to butcher it, and this is what happened to the Arabs of Palestine. They are human beings with feelings and sentiments like the rest of us. The result was a very cruel and fierce attack of annihilation by the terrorist Irgun, who mercilessly annihilated the complete population of villages like Dair Yasin, including men, women and children. This spread terror among the Arabs, causing them to flee from their homes.

On the responsibility for the panic and terrorization caused by the Irgun after the atrocities of Dair Yasin, let us listen to Menachen Begin, *fuehrer* of the Irgun, at present leader of the Herut Party and member of the Knesset, in his book, *The Revolt: Story of the Irgun*: "Kolonia village, which had previously repulsed every attack of the Haganah, was evacuated overnight and fell without further fighting. Beit Iksha was also evacuated. These two places overlooked the main road; and their fall, together with the capture of



*A view of the 'Aqabah Camp of Refugees, near Jericho, Jordan, where after years of suffering the Arab refugees, with the help of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and private enterprise, have succeeded in creating a new town. But this is no solution of the Arab refugee problem*



Kastrel by the Haganah, made it possible to keep open the road to Jerusalem. In the rest of the country, too, the Arabs began to flee in terror even before they clashed with Jewish forces . . . meanwhile the Haganah was carrying out successful attacks on the other fronts in Haifa. All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter. The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting, 'Dair Yasin ! '."

I quote again from the *fuehrer* of the Irgun: "Arabs throughout the country induced to believe wild tales of Irgun butchery were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened, uncontrollable stampede. Of the about 800,000 Arabs who lived on the present territory of the State of Israel, only some 165,000 are still there. The political and economic significance of this development can hardly be over-estimated."

### **Some further evidence to support the fact that the refugee problem is the creation of the Zionists**

We wish to give another authentic Jewish source as to the cause of the refugee problem ; this is Hal Lehrman writing in *Commentary* (American Jewish Committee monthly in its issue for December 1949): "Now that I've travelled to every corner of this country, it has become clear that the Israeli troops must have been decidedly tough even with the non-combatant Arabs during the war. There are, for instance, too many dynamited, desolated native villages where little or no fighting occurred. The Jews simply came in and smashed the place, sparing only the mosques. . . .

"What about atrocities? Israel knows and laments Dair Yassin, where Irgun massacred more than two hundred Arab men, women and children. Native fear of more Dair Yassins must be added to all the other reasons for the mad flight of the Arab people. . . .

"I am . . . shaken by the expressions of grief and shame I have privately received from non-political but prominent Israelis whose personal integrity is beyond question. 'The Israeli soldier has looted, burned and slaughtered,' I have been told, 'and it is no comfort to us that soldiers of every other army do likewise.' It is even hinted that certain officers actually ordered their troops to let themselves go."

Dr. Toynbee, the eminent historian, in his recent book, *Study of History*, places the responsibility for the refugees as follows: "The evil deeds committed by the Zionist Jews against the Palestinian Arabs that were comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis were the massacre of men, women and children at Dayr Yasin on the 9th April 1948, which precipitated a flight of the Arab population, in large numbers, from districts within range of the Jewish armed forces, and the subsequent deliberate expulsion of the Arab population from districts conquered by the Jewish armed forces between the 15th May 1948 and the end of that year. . . . The Arab bloodshed on the 9th April 1948 at Dayr Yasin was on the heads of the Irgun ; the expulsions after the 15th May 1948 were on the heads of all Israel" (p. 290, Vol. VIII).

These quotations should finally refute any Israeli allegations that Arab States and Arab leaders are responsible for the Arab refugee exodus.

The first cause for the tragedy of the Arab refugees of Palestine lies in the ill-fated resolution of the partition of Palestine of November 1947, responsibility for which devolves on those nations that forced the resolution through. The actual and immediate responsibility definitely lies on the shoulders of Israel. These facts must be finally established

and recognized by all ; for upon this knowledge much of our course of action in this committee depends. Israel cannot absolve herself from the responsibility of perpetrating and perpetuating the tragedy of the Arab refugees. The United Nations cannot absolve itself of the responsibility for the natural consequences of its resolution and for the behaviour of Israel, for the creation of which the United Nations is directly responsible.

### **The tactics Israel continues to employ to intensify the severity of the Palestine refugee problem**

Besides, Israel created and continues to create thousands of refugees after the armistice was established by driving Arabs across the borders into Egypt, Jordan and Syria. This fact has been reported by the Truce Observation Commission in official United Nations documents. Moreover, Israel, by violating the internationalization of Jerusalem and preventing the implementation of its statute, has kept away some hundred thousand refugees from their homes in Jerusalem. What legal right has Israel to defy the internationalization of Jerusalem? Having defied internationalization, what right has she to displace nearly one hundred thousand non-Jewish inhabitants — Muslims and Christians alike? This we cannot answer. We leave the answer to those great Powers who yielded to the *fait accompli* of Israel and let their diplomatic representatives present their credentials on a non-Israeli territory.

Another method of Israeli forcing more Arabs to leave Israel and convincing Arab refugees to abandon the idea of returning home is that of treating the Arabs in Israel as second-class citizens discriminating against them in wages, restricting their movement, expropriating their lands, destroying their villages, putting them under military rule, terrorizing them, and making life unbearable for them. These discriminatory measures against the Arab citizens of Israel are meant to serve two purposes: First, to make those Arabs who still remain in Israel to leave, thus creating more refugees ; secondly, to intimidate the Arab refugees so that they may not think of returning to their homes.

### **Israel is encouraging artificial immigration of Jews to Palestine**

In order to put before the world a *fait accompli*, in order to prevent the return of the refugees to their own homes, Israel is trying artificially to encourage Jewish immigration into Palestine. Jews who have no need to leave their countries are encouraged by various means to come to Palestine in spite of all the economic difficulties facing Israel. One hundred thousand Iraqi Jews were encouraged to leave Iraq by Israeli tactics from a country where they lived for thousands of years. They encouraged Jews to emigrate from the Yemen, Libya, Turkey, India, to Palestine. They are now encouraging Jews from North Africa to emigrate to Palestine. Are all these suffering from persecution ? Can Israel claim that the Jews in Turkey or in India are being persecuted? Does France admit that the Jews in North Africa are not protected and are being persecuted? Or is this an artificial way for filling Palestine so that we will be told there is no room left for the refugees to return? Or is it to find justification for raising more dollars in the United States of America and selling more bonds in the name of the Jews of North Africa so that they may occupy Arab homes, Arab farms, and use Arab property? The world must understand Zionist policy and Zionist tactics to appreciate the harm done to the Jews and the Arabs alike. Let us see how Zionism tries to shake even the loyalty and the confidence of Jews



who live in liberal countries like the United States and Western Europe so that they may eventually move to Palestine. Thus Mr. Dobkin, Director of the Department of Pioneer Youth, speaks of: "The extreme necessity to save Jewish youth from assimilation in a country like the United States of America, where there are a quarter of a million Jewish students and only two thousand affiliated to the Union of Jewish Zionist students."

Ben Locker in the *Jerusalem Post* says: "Even Western Jews should know not to place their entire faith that the liberalism of countries where they live would endure forever without change".

An excellent description of Israeli mentality with regard to enforced immigration may be quoted from this year's spring-summer issue of the *Menorah Journal* (a Jewish magazine), p. 9: "In such a reactionary atmosphere, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion could seriously think of imposing his insane counterpart to the Nazi doctrine of a *Judenrein* Germany. Only Ben-Gurion went, so to speak, the whole hog. He wants the whole world — except Israel — to become *Judenrein*, entirely cleared of Jews. Isn't that the implication of his constant demand that all Jews of the world return to Israel, bag and baggage? Back to the womb! It is the famous notion of *Kibbutz Galuyot* — "the Ingathering of the Exiles" — pushed to its logical end. Certainly no other Zionist leader — Herzl, Nordau, Sokolow, Brandeis, Jobotinsky, Ahad Ha-am, Weizmann — no Zionist at all in his right mind ever dreamed of such a grotesquerie.

"What has been the result? For one thing, the forced immigration of Oriental Jews from Levantine countries — the Yemen, Iraq, Iran, Morocco — thus changing the whole complexion of the *Yishuv*. The *Yishuv*, that magnificent settlement and development in Palestine through several generations of heroic pioneer workers from Europe and America, out of which the State arose. Now the State of Israel is all but Levantinized itself, with terrific problems of assimilating the forced Oriental influx; while European Jews, genuine refugees, who had sought and thought they had found a haven in Israel, are actually leaving it in their tens of thousands — even back to a concentration camp in Germany!

"Such are some of the macabre consequences of a lunatic policy heavily subsidized by American and British Jews on the hysterical campaign pleas, year after year, for rescuing the refugees."

If these quotations mean anything, they mean that there is an unjust and immoral situation. Arab refugees left homeless in a state of destitution while their homes, farms and property are being occupied by people from outside for the immigration of whom we find no moral or legitimate justification.

Mr. Don Peretz in the October 1954 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, p. 137, shows how these Jewish immigrants are occupying quite illegally Arab homes and property: "Today nearly half the new Jewish immigrants live in homes abandoned by the Arabs. They occupy nearly 400 Arab towns and villages. About a quarter of the buildings now in use in Israel formerly were Arab property. The Arabs left over 10,000 shops and stores in Jewish hands. The Israel Custodian of Absentee Property took over more than 4,000,000 dunams of former Arab land, or nearly 60 per cent of the country's cultivable area. This was nearly two and a half times the total Jewish-owned property at the time the State of Israel was established, and includes most of its olive

orchards, a large part of its fruit and vegetable crop land and almost half the citrus groves."

### **The result of all this is hatred for the British and Americans in the hearts of the Palestine refugees**

What a human tragedy! Let anyone put himself in the place of an Arab refugee of Palestine. What a feeling of indignation, what a feeling of bitterness, what a feeling of despair would creep into him from the fact that his own home, his own property, are before his very eyes, but he cannot enjoy them. Foreigners have been forced in from outside to occupy them before his very eyes! Aren't the refugees justified if they feel as Mr. Don Peretz describes them in the article mentioned previously, in the following terms, and I quote from page 135:

"Hatred of the British, the Americans, the United Nations and Israel permeates the camps — in that order. Resentment has built refugee tensions into an hysteria which makes it dangerous for Westerners to enter some camps. Failure to settle the problem is still a main obstacle to peace between the Jews and Arabs. It is blocking American technical and economic assistance as well as Allied defence plans in the area. Recognition of these facts has made solution of the problem a main objective of United States policy in the Middle East, and has led the United States to contribute over \$153,000,000 as its share of the costs of the United Nations refugee relief and rehabilitation programme."

Does the United Nations, do the great powers, do those who consider the money that goes to Israel to deprive the Arabs from returning to their homes as charity, do all these parties wish to continue this situation? Do they wish to continue carrying this moral burden, which is by far heavier than anything in terms of dollars or cents? How dare Israel speak of peace with the Arabs while perpetuating this inhumanity, this injustice, and this cruelty to the Arabs of Palestine? Why doesn't Israel at least recognize Arab rights to return before speaking of peace?

The Arabs harbour no aggressive intentions towards Israel, but they are not going to relinquish the right of their brethren to return to their own homes and live peacefully there! The key to the problem is in the hands of the United Nations, which is responsible for the creation of Israel, which in turn is responsible for this tragedy.

### **The duty of the United Nations if it wishes to tackle the refugee problem**

If the United Nations wishes to tackle the refugee problem seriously, they must reverse the method of approach. Instead of emphasizing relief and rehabilitation, we must first of all work on repatriation, for that is the will of the refugees and that is their undisputable right. We can find no better guide in this matter than that great martyr of the United Nations Organization, that man who sacrificed his life to bring about peace in Palestine, Count Folke Bernadotte, and I quote from United Nations Document A/648: "The immediate solution of the problem appeared to be the return to their homes of those refugees who desired to return. Even though in many localities their homes had been destroyed, and their furniture and assets dispersed, it was obvious that a solution for their difficulties could be more readily found there than elsewhere."

Repatriation could be done in stages; first, in Jerusalem and in those areas of Palestine which were allotted to the Arabs in the partition scheme of 1947, and then inside Israel.



Israel must first of all be made to yield to the Arabs those territories which were not allotted to her by the United Nations. She had no right to exceed the limits of partition by invading territories allotted to the Arabs. These territories and internationalized Jerusalem will absorb the bulk of the refugees. The remaining Arabs who wish to return to Israel should as much as possible live in cantons of their own, and those who do not wish to return should be adequately compensated. The Arab States should be asked to rehabilitate those who ultimately do not wish to return. Such a process, if wisely handled by the United Nations, with Israel changing her heart and mind, might pacify the whole area and reduce much human misery.

### The duty of the United States

In this connection I wish to whisper into the ears of my good friends, the United States delegation, that their attitude on the refugee problem, like that of their attitude on the question of Jerusalem and the whole problem of Palestine, does not lead to lasting peace and settlement in the Middle East. It is an open secret now that the United States played a great role in forcing through the resolution on the partition of Palestine which was so unjust and so harmful to peace and to Arab rights. The United States bias for Zionism

lem. It is high time that the United States, as a leading world power today, in association with other powers should see to it that peace is restored by rendering at least that justice which does not yield to Zionist pressure, nor does it recognize Zionist excesses. Fairness demands recognition by the United States delegation and all other delegations here that Arab rights to their own homes cannot be whittled.

You cannot expect peace or stability anywhere in the world when you begin to compromise with this fundamental human right. After all your whole world policy, your whole civilization, your social and moral set-up, is based on the recognition and defence of this individual right to home and property. If you wish to whittle this fundamental human right, you had better stop fighting Communism in the world. If this right is respected, then the question of repatriation of the Arab refugees should become your first human and international duty and obligation. This is not for the sake of the refugees only, but for the sake of your own ideology and civilization. To ask the Arab States "to regard many of their Arab refugee brothers not as temporary residents but as fellow citizens and co-sharers of the Near East's future" is certainly a whittling of Arab rights to their own homes in Palestine. We submit that no one but the refugees themselves as free human beings can decide whether they choose

to return to Palestine or not. Any obstacles or hindrances in the way of their choice is both illegal and immoral. We submit that any economic development in the Near East cannot and should not be at the expense of Arab rights to Palestine. The sooner this fact is known, the sooner peace and stability is achieved in the Near East. Those of us who remember the lessons of history should know that Arab settlement to Palestine — Christians and Muslims alike — is no less in its fervour than that of the Jews. This should make us realize the futility of trying to keep the Arabs away from their homes by roundabout methods.

The only way out of the dilemma, the only way conducive to a quick settlement in the Near East is for all of us here, and especially powers like the United States, the United Kingdom and

France is to stop whittling United Nations resolutions on Palestine, whether those be the rights of the refugees, the internationalization of Jerusalem or those pertaining to territorial adjustment. For whittling down the United Nations resolutions at the expense of the already crushed and unjustly treated Palestinian Arabs and at the expense of fundamental principles will never bring us nearer to any



*When will this come to an end?*

*A picture of one of the many Arab refugee camps studded over the Kingdom of Jordan. Our picture shows the tents of the refugees scattered in the midst of the normal dwellings of a town*

should at least have stopped there; the United States should have used her authority to its logical conclusion by implementing those resolutions, however unfair to Arab rights, by applying sanctions. But the United States, after taking a major role in the creation of tragedy, let matters drift with the Zionist wind. The result of this policy is that six years have elapsed with no peace and no settlement of the prob-



ttlement, but it will continue to disturb peace and stability and will render no service to our common ideals and common interests for world peace.

#### **What the Arab refugees want**

In the meantime relief should be administered, taking into account the five requirements of the Director-General of the United Nations Relief and Work Agency, who deserves our congratulations for the integrity, frankness and objectivity with which he presented his report. These include:

- (1) Rations for the new-born babies ;
- (2) Rations for needy persons of the frontier villages who lost their livelihood because of losing their farms ;
- (3) Rations for those only temporarily employed during the unemployment period ;
- (4) Clothing ;
- (5) Increasing the calories in the ration of the refugees.

Relief for the refugees is not charity. It is a duty which the United Nations must pay, a duty towards injured people who have been crushed by the ruthless machinery of international Zionist propaganda. The Arab refugees do not want relief. They want their homes! They do not want bread. They want the restoration of their dignity and self-respect. We sincerely hope that this committee and especially the great powers will give this refugee problem more serious thinking with a view to implementing Article 11 of Resolution 184 (111) of 11th December 1948 on repatriation and to assure Israel that the Arabs have no aggressive tendencies but they are not ready to relinquish one iota of their rights. The repatriation of the refugees is the keypoint to any settlement of the Palestine problem! Israel should always remember Dr. Weizmann's statement: "I am certain that the world will judge the Jewish State by what it will do with the Arabs".

#### **Professor Toynbee on the conduct of the Zionists who become persecutors for the first time since 135 C.E.**

The first honest judgment comes from that eminent scholar and historian, Dr. Toynbee, in the eighth volume of his book, *A Study of History* (pp. 289-290):

"But the Nazi Gentiles' fall was less tragic than the Zionist Jews! On the morrow of a persecution in Europe in which they had been the victims of the worst atrocities ever known to have been suffered by Jews, or indeed by any other human beings, the Jews' immediate reaction to their own experience was to become persecutors in their turn for the first time since A.D. 135 — this at the first opportunity that had arisen for them to inflict on other human beings who had done the Jews no injury, but who happened to be weaker than they were, some of the wrongs and sufferings that had been inflicted on the Jews by their many successive Western Gentile persecutors during the intervening seventeen centuries. In A.D. 1948 some 684,000 out of some 859,000 Arab inhabitants of the territory in Palestine which the Zionist Jews conquered by force of arms in that year lost their homes and property and became destitute displaced persons.

"If the heinousness of sin is to be measured by the degree to which the sinner is sinning against the light that God has vouchsafed to him, the Jews had even less excuse in A.D. 1948 for evicting Palestinian Arabs from their homes than Nebuchadnezzar and Titus and Hadrian and the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition had had for uprooting, persecuting and exterminating Jews in Palestine and elsewhere at diverse times in the past. In A.D. 1948 the Jews knew, from personal experience, what they were doing ; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learnt by them from their encounter with the Nazi Germany Gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews."

May this clear judgment, given by an honest, impartial, disinterested scholar, lead the United Nations, lead the great powers, and lead Israel to correct the wrongs done to the Arabs.

We wish to assert here that no lapse of time will ever make the Arabs yield their rights to their own homes in Palestine. Repatriation is the only way out of the dilemma. Lapse of time merely increases bitterness and suffering, and this is not in the interest of any of the parties, least of all the interest and prestige of the United Nations Organization.



*These victims of Zionist aggression are constructing mud-brick or stone houses to replace their tattered tents. Timber is very difficult to come by in Jordan. A merchant has secured some to build a storehouse for his business*



# THE GROWING PAINS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

By Abu Muhammad

## The Muslim Brotherhood reviewed from a new angle

Five leading members of the Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwaan al-Muslimoun*) of Egypt were hanged in Cairo on 7th December 1954. Sentences of death against them was passed by a special Egyptian military court set up to try those involved in the attempt which was made on the life of Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, the Prime Minister of Egypt, in Alexandria a few weeks earlier.

The trials, which were broadcast in detail to the nation and to the Arab world, appeared to reveal that the attempt which was made on the life of Colonel Nasir was the first step in a comprehensively nefarious plot intended to overthrow the revolutionary régime in Egypt and replace it by some kind of administration sponsored by the Muslim Brotherhood and aided by General Muhammad Najeeb, the then President of the Republic of Egypt.

Many significant facts came to light during these trials. Perhaps first and foremost in importance was the fact that the man who attempted to assassinate Colonel Nasir was only a small tool in the hands of desperate and determined men who were planning something far greater than his little mind could comprehend. He was a simple man — a tinsmith by trade — who made a journey to Cairo to kill Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir simply because, he said, he was told to do so by his leaders in the Muslim Brotherhood. And obeying the dictates of the Muslim Brotherhood was, to him, akin to obeying the wishes of God. The Muslim Brotherhood and its leaders were to him engaged solely in helping to bring about in Egypt the true rule of the religion of Islam — quite an honourable and worthy thing, if it were really true.

Another fact that came to light, from the evidence given by Mr. Hasan al-Hudaiby, the Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, was that he knew little of the nefarious side of the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood. He was its leader, he said, but he did not accede to what his associates were doing. As a man of quite unimpeachable past in public service and of high academic and professional standing, he had been prevailed upon by his friends to assume the leadership of the organization. More than once during his trial he declared that he had repeatedly warned his associates against using violence, particularly assassination, as a means of attaining political and other ambitions. He tried to see to it, he said, that violence was written out of the vocabulary of the Muslim Brotherhood, which at one time did in fact engage in assassinations and counter-assassinations. But he did not succeed in this; and he frankly admitted that for this reason he was quite unfit to be a responsible leader of this organization. It was perhaps because of the acceptance of this fact that the death sentence given against him was commuted by the Egyptian Revolutionary Council to one of life imprisonment.

## The perverted use made of Islam

We will not here go into the merits or otherwise of the

punishment meted out to those leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood. But we would like to record that their trials have evoked widespread interest in the whole Muslim world, and that there are many who feel the trials had been harsh. That, to us, is a matter which only unbiased and honest men who are possessed of the full facts can decide; and history will before long be able to put this episode in proper perspective. We are, however, alarmed that Islam should have been used as a cover for an organization — or, perhaps, only a section of an organization — to work safely against a State and use blood and thunder for political ends. That a group of men should find it possible in this enlightened age to dangle the noble principles of the religion of Islam in front of simple and innocent men to entice them to commit outrageous crimes of assassination and plunder is a matter of great importance and concern.

## What the Muslim Brotherhood was thought to be

The Muslim Brotherhood, as its name implies, was ostensibly an organization seeking to bring together in brotherhood and unity Muslims in different parts of the world. The main purpose of the organization was declared on its foundation to be the preaching of the religion of Islam and the pursuit of the path which will lead to the application of all the wholesome tenets of this faith to our present-day world. The organization founded newspapers and journals and conducted meetings all over the Arab world, particularly in Egypt, in which it preached these doctrines. Many Muslims all over the Muslim world admired and respected the leaders of the Brotherhood for the characteristically Islamic solutions which they offered to the ills of our present-day society. Thousands rallied to the call of the Muslim Brotherhood and became loyal and active members in their cause. In working for the realization of the aims and ambitions of the Muslim Brotherhood these Muslims were firmly of the belief that they were working in the cause of God — working for the day when the religion of Islam and its social system will find wholehearted and complete acceptance as a perfect way of life.

To non-Muslims in the West the growing power of the Muslim Brotherhood (many of whose members volunteered to fight in order to help their brethren in Palestine against the Zionist menace) was an excuse for alarm. They hated the Brotherhood and all that it stood for. They accused it of seeking to put the clock back some thirteen hundred years. They said it was a fanatic and revolutionary organization which sought to do away with modern progress and revert to the tent and camel of the desert in the days of the Prophet Muhammad. But these kinds of accusations did little harm to the Brotherhood in the eyes of genuine Muslims. They knew that they were false and they knew also that the non-Muslim West still viewed Islam from a peculiarly distorted angle and considered it a backward and reactionary religion. The Muslims knew that many in the West would draw little comfort from the increase in the strength of Islam and the



people of Islam ; and if anything, the West's hatred of the Muslim Brotherhood helped to recruit more members to this organization.

There is thus no question at all of the purity and wholesomeness of the principles which the Muslim Brotherhood declared at its inception would be its charter. They were principles near and dear to sincere Muslims all over the world. But were these the principles that led to the attempt on the life of the Prime Minister of Egypt ; and were the men who hatched the devilish plot against the ruling régime in Egypt acting in the light of the tenets of Islam which they were supposed to recognize and maintain? Without doubt they were not. Murder for religious ends is not in the vocabulary of the teachings of Islam. Nor is the deceiving of simple and innocent men to walk in the path of treason and plunder in the name of Islam.

#### **Facts revealed by the trials of the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood**

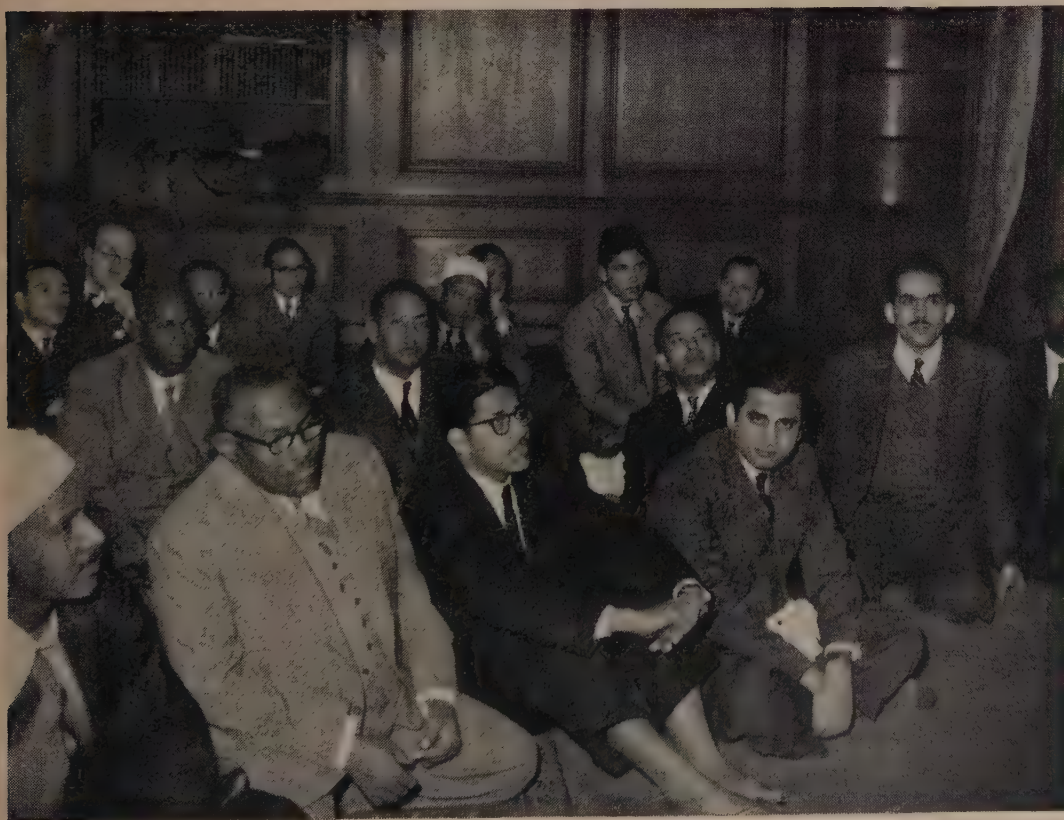
The trials at Cairo revealed shocking facts about the way in which the Muslim Brotherhood had been run of late. Everyone could recognize that the teachings of Islam had no room in the hearts and minds of the small group of powerful men who held all the ropes in the organization, and trade on the simplicity and innocence of men to move them about like pawns on the chess-board of the political ambitions of the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood.

The leaders of the Brotherhood, who alleged that they were driven to plotting against the military régime in Egypt because they wanted to rid the country of a military dictatorship, were themselves far from being respecters of democracy. It is true that Egypt at present is governed by a military

dictatorship. In principle that type of régime can easily be condemned. But if one knows something about Egypt, one can soon understand that the country is not yet ready to exercise democratic rights. The military régime is endeavouring to prepare Egypt for the day when it can have a parliamentary system of government. At present the introduction of a parliamentary system of government will only retard the progress of the schemes of development and reform which have been long overdue. One can easily enter into endless arguments about democracy versus dictatorship. The fact is, however, that Egypt under its present dictatorship is doing very much better than it did under its old Pasha democracy. And the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in recent months who, as the trials revealed, ran this organization on the most backward dictatorial lines, were the last persons to make Egypt bask safely and prosperously in the sunshine of democracy.

#### **Not all the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood were bad**

Accident and a great deal of personal intrigue seem to have helped over a considerable period to place bad men at the wheel of the ship of the Muslim Brotherhood. There were no doubt good God-fearing men amongst these leaders, but they seem to have made little impression on their colleagues and to have failed to divert these bad men and the whole Muslim Brotherhood from the course to which they had drifted. The ordinary members of the Muslim Brotherhood remained throughout men who believed in the religion of Islam and who sought to act in the light of God's words enjoining the doing of good and forbidding the doing of evil. Their leaders, however, had quite forgotten these principles, and had used the Islamic shield as a cover for political activities. They were no longer engaged in the effort



*His Excellency Mr. Isma'il al-Azhari, the Prime Minister of the Sudan, at the Islamic Cultural Centre, London, N.W.8, for his Friday prayers during his visit to London in November 1954. To right is His Excellency Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Amin, the Minister of Justice.*

*Mr. Azhari is the first Muslim Prime Minister of any Muslim country who, when in England, found time to observe the Friday prayers in a non-Muslim country*



to reform society in the light of the teachings of Islam — they preferred to be engaged in political manoeuvres, and to match their strength against the government of the day, using the half-million or so ordinary active members of the organization as their weapons. Instead of pursuing the Islamic path of “Call to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and goodly exhortation, and argue with them in the best manner” (The Qur’án 16:125), they resorted to sedition and sabotage, and took up arms against the government which worked for the liberation of the country from foreign influence and for its social and economic development and progress. They did not use goodly argument with their fellows — they preferred automatic revolvers and hand grenades to make their point clear. There is no doubt that these men had their eyes on becoming the political rulers of Egypt, and that they used reprehensible methods in their endeavour to realize this ambition.

The leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood who followed this crooked path had betrayed the trust which the innocent men who were fired by a love of Islam had placed in them. More than that, they committed a great sin in the eyes of God and in the eyes of the Muslims all over the world.

There had been attempts in the not so distant past to avert the fate which the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt as a whole has now met. A small group of its leaders tried to oust the Supreme Guide, Mr. Hasan al-Hudaiby, and a few other leading members. They sought another Supreme Guide who would wield greater influence and have the ability to see that the organization did not in any circumstances stray from the path of wholesome religious and social reform which was originally set for it. Opposition to them, however, was very strong from the side of the vested interests who had dug themselves deep in the organization. The critics withdrew and formed a separate group with its own organ, a weekly journal called *al-Da’wa*.

It is a great pity that the Muslim Brotherhood on the whole has become a despised and outlawed organization in Egypt. A great pity, because the principles which this organization set before it in the beginning were so very wholesome and beneficial to Egypt and to the whole Muslim world. Indeed, the words of the Muslim Brotherhood leaders — at least those that appeared publicly in print — were thought-provoking, wholesome and unimpeachable. What the enlightened leaders and scholarly members of the Brotherhood have written on Islam will remain a source of guidance to Muslim reformers for a long time to come. This is a fact which must not be smothered because certain members of the Muslim Brotherhood have strayed from the right path.

### **The present campaign against the Muslim Brotherhood**

The Government of Egypt seems to be holding its own very well in the campaign against the Muslim Brotherhood. The path which the men of the Egyptian Revolution have set before them remains clear, and they remain faithful to it. In the measures which they have taken against the Muslim Brotherhood they have succeeded in averting a catastrophic civil war in the country.

It is sincerely hoped, for the sake of Egypt and for the sake of Islam as a whole, that the Egyptian Government will continue to take extreme care in its selection of leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood upon whom it would bring its wrath. The Egyptian Government cannot but be firm and resolute in its handling of the offending members of the

Muslim Brotherhood. The trust which the people of Egypt have placed in these leaders of the Revolution cannot be fully discharged otherwise.

But the path which the Egyptian Government has been called upon to tread by what the men of the Muslim Brotherhood have done is a very delicate one. Special courts have been set up in Egypt to try the members of the Muslim Brotherhood. These courts, we are convinced, would follow the cardinal Islamic doctrine of “Nor does the bearer of burden bear the burden of another” (The Qur’án 6:165). We believe that there are many members of the Muslim Brotherhood who must not be made to bear a great share of the blame for what their organization has done. It is true that a good Muslim should be vigilant and should endeavour to put matters right whenever he can. The Prophet Muhammad said: “If you see evil, then you must correct it by your acts, and failing that by your sword, and failing that by your heart — which is the weakest form of belief”. But it would do no harm to temper justice with mercy for those who deserve mercy and who have genuinely been deceived and placed in awkward positions as a result of their mistaken loyalty to what they thought was Islam.

### **Right-thinking members of the Muslim Brotherhood should be allowed to continue the original good call of the Brotherhood**

The men who at one time gave loyal allegiance to the Muslim Brotherhood because they thought that it was engaged in propagating the teachings of Islam and resuscitating the Islamic system of life and applying it to present-day society should be allowed to continue to work in the field of Islam under some similar organization. Indeed, there seems to be no reason why the Muslim Brotherhood should not be allowed to function under its present name after it has been properly and meticulously purged of all suspicious and undesirable elements. The Brotherhood at present has branches in many parts of the Muslim world, particularly the Arab world. It also has many sympathizers who have been shocked to learn of the reprehensible actions of some of the leaders of this organization. The organization’s branches in the other parts of the world do not seem to have suffered from the same ills as those from which the head office suffered in Cairo.

The Muslim Brotherhood has at one time in Egypt, as it has now in the other parts of the Arab world, provided a channel through which the efforts and activities of honest and devoted Muslims could flow. It would be a great pity if the Government of Egypt, or, for that matter, any other Muslim Government, were to think that an organization such as the Muslim Brotherhood is of its nature bad and likely to engage in the same kinds of efforts as the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt engaged in its latter days. We must not forget that episodes similar to the episode of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt are not unknown in history. Men who desperately sought political power not infrequently resorted to nefarious methods.

The aims and objects originally proclaimed by the founders of the Muslim Brotherhood were good. They had become prostituted and distorted by bad men. Let this teach all those who are members of an organization, whether religious or otherwise, that they must choose their leaders with care and must keep an eye on what their leaders do. This is how good organizations progress and prosper.



## IRAN

### General Zahedi's campaign against the men of the old régime

No sooner did the situation become quieter and more settled in Iran, and no sooner did the Anglo-Saxons retrieve their lost influence and prestige in the country and build their strongholds with dollars and sterling around the oil wells of Abadan, than the Iranian Government of General Zahedi began to hunt the leaders of the nation during the days of Dr. Musaddiq. The men who were the champions of the liberation movement, and who aided Dr. Musaddiq a few years ago to carry out the nationalization of the country's oil industry, have been thrown arbitrarily into prison. Later they were tried summarily by special military courts and sentences of death or for long terms of imprisonment were given against them. A campaign to purge the army of "undesirables" was set afoot by General Zahedi. High-ranking officers were put on trial and subsequently convicted of the crime of helping Communism and aiding the enemies of Iran.

It is doubtful whether the men who have been singled out by the Government of General Zahedi to face this grave charge were really Communists, or at any rate enemies of the Iranian nation. Their main crime is that they sought to stage a *coup d'état* and oust the Shah of Iran. They suspected Anglo-American motives, and were anxious not to draw Iran closer to the Anglo-American camp. In their own way they sought to preserve for Iran her complete economic and political independence; and they did not want the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company back into Iran because they knew that Iran had suffered enough from that organization, which had throughout acted as the agent of imperialism.

But in the eyes of the Government of General Zahedi those who are not in favour of the *rapprochement* with the

Anglo-Iranian Oil Company are agents of Moscow and thus enemies of Iran.

### The unjust execution of Dr. Husain Fatemi

In this way a brutal campaign has been started by the Iranian Government aided and abetted by outside interests. Many officers of the Iranian Army have been sentenced to death and summarily executed. Amongst those who have recently been executed for the crime of treason was Dr. Husain Fatemi, who was Foreign Minister of Iran in the Government of Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq, and one of the main architects of the plan to nationalize the oil industry of Iran. He was the man who showed Iran the way to get back her lost rights from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the way to become economically independent.

What was Dr. Fatemi's crime? A military court found that he was disloyal to the Shah in that he endeavoured with others to oust the Shah from the throne. He advocated a republic for Iran and he was against Iran compromising any of her rights, and he thus offended the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the British and American Governments. These were very grave crimes in the dictionary of the military court which sentenced him to death.

If Dr. Fatemi be a traitor because he advocated the abolition of the monarchy in Iran, then Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, who with his other colleagues in the Egyptian Army ousted King Farouk, is also a traitor. And who would say that this great man of Egypt is a traitor? Only those who have a very queer and perverted sense of morals and justice. The crime of "treason" has throughout history, and will remain for a long time, a crime of questionable moral calibre. What is and what is not "treasonable" is something that can



*A view of the International Trade Fair held at Damascus, Syria, in September 1954, at which the Communist countries were strongly represented*



be decided only by reference to the political and constitutional *status quo* in a country at any given time. The decision has nothing to do with morals in the abstract. The practice of the makers of one *coup d'état* taking vengeance upon their predecessors can go on endlessly. If it lasts for a sufficient time, it can deprive the country of all the men of courage and foresight that it has.

### Political butchery must stop in Iran

The execution of Dr. Husain Fatemi for treason will be a black spot in the history of Iran. And it is to be hoped for the sake of the people of Iran, and for the sake of the whole Muslim world, that the tragedy will not be re-enacted. Enough people have been executed so far by the Government of General Zahedi, and the time has come to call a halt. The execution of political or other leaders who do not see eye to eye with General Zahedi and his colleagues or with the Shah of Iran will help only to cut a deep wound in the hearts of many in Iran and outside it. Terror can maintain a régime for so long, but no longer. And if General Zahedi does not stop his activities soon he may find that he has gained the enmity and hatred of more people than he can adequately cope with. So far there has been no active serious opposition to him in Iran; but that does not mean that all is well. Trouble may be simmering just under the surface.

## SYRIA

### Syria enters upon a period of relative stability

Syria, which during the last few years has had more *coups d'états* than any other State in the Middle East, seems to have entered in the last few months upon a period of relative stability and prosperity. Elections have recently been carried out there, and the country now has a fully democratic National Assembly consisting of members who have been chosen by the people in an entirely free and secret ballot. Ample evidence was given about the democratic way in which these elections were conducted. Mr. Sa'eed al-Ghazzi, who was Prime Minister of Syria before these elections took place, took every precaution to give the Syrian electorate a free choice unmarred by the interference of either the Government or the Army.

### The outstanding features of the recent general elections

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the Syrian elections was the fact that the Government allowed the Communists to enter the election field and to put up candidates. The Communist Party was entirely unmolested in this respect, and it had as much access to the electorate as any other political party did. The result was perhaps rather disappointing to the Communists, for they had only one candidate returned to Parliament. But the fact is significant and worthy of note for more than one reason. From one point of view the result shows that the Communists are not as strong as they are supposed to be, and that the voters in Syria were not so very highly impressed with Communism and its glittering promises of a better future for the underdog in the Arab world. On the other hand, the attitude which the Syrian Government adopted in permitting the Communists to enter the election field on an entirely equal footing with the other political parties shows exemplary tolerance and open-mindedness. Syria is amongst the very few Arab countries where the Communist Party is not outlawed. Its leaders seem to believe that in order to fight

Communism successfully it is not necessary to outlaw it. They feel that the fight can be carried on better by meeting Communism on its own ground and exposing its fallacies and weaknesses.

Communism in the Arab world, and, indeed, all over the world, gains its support mainly from amongst the wretched and under-privileged classes in society. If the lot of these unfortunates were improved, they would be made less amenable to Communist charms. And that, it seems, is what Syria is doing. Syria is not taking the easy way out of this problem by banning outright the Communist Party in the country and executing all those suspected of practising Communism. It is taking Communism as a challenge and meeting that challenge in a straight clean fight.

### The example set by Syria in combating Communism

This policy, which we hope will continue and be copied by other Muslim countries, was demonstrated when the Syrian Government permitted the Chinese Communist Government, the Soviet Government, and other Soviet satellites, to exhibit on a large scale in the International Trade Fair which was held a few months ago in Damascus. The Communists had the biggest section in the Fair, and they exhibited goods of a wide variety and were permitted to bring into the country additional staff to cope with the vast amount of information and propaganda which they organized in order to publicize their exhibits. Both the United States of America and Great Britain are reported to have exerted great pressure against the Syrian Government to make it deny the Communist countries the opportunity to exhibit their products at the Fair. America and Britain were afraid lest the Communists would exploit too much the opportunity which the Fair presented to them, and consequently impress the people of Syria and the Middle East too much. But the Syrian Government was determined not to give way to the Americans and the British on this point, and it kept by its original decision and afforded the Communists an unrestricted opportunity to participate in the Fair.

### How the Muslims should stand *vis-à-vis* East and West

In holding and maintaining this attitude, the Syrian Government has, we hope, exposed the fallacy that it is in the interest of the Muslim world always to toe the line with the West and to demonstrate its loyalty to the West by periodically rebuffing the Communist countries and treating them arbitrarily and discourteously. The Communist countries who participated in the Damascus Fair had on show goods which competed quite favourably with goods offered by both the United States of America and Britain.

The Arab world, and the Islamic world on the whole, are as yet consumer countries. They depend for a great deal of their needs on exports from Western Europe and America. They pay good money for what they import, and as buyers who get nothing *gratis*, they must have the choice to choose the source from which they are to buy their needs. The Communists have not so far developed a good sense of the techniques of the export market in the Arab world or in the Islamic world. Although the products they exhibited at the Damascus Fair were offered at competitive prices, they were not *cent per cent* suitable for the Arab market. The reason for this is that the Communist countries have not had any great experience of the Arab market. They would no doubt welcome an opportunity to assess more fully the Arab



arket and its tastes and demands ; and if the Arab countries e them this opportunity, there is no reason to doubt that ore long the Communist countries would be able to come ore fully with the British and American exporters. And one the main results of this competition between the Com- nist and Western countries in vying for the Arab market l be that the prices at which the goods will be offered to e Arab buyers, as well as the quality of these goods, will eatly improve. At present the British, Americans and West rmans have an almost exclusive run of the Arab market. e Arabs well remember how the British and American porters had to look about when the West Germans entered e field of export to the Arab world, and how the quality e goods, the prices and the selling terms all improved as result. When another gigantic competitor enters the field, ere will without doubt be further improvements to the erest of the Arabs.

#### **Importing Communist products does not mean importing communist ideas**

The Arab and Muslim countries need not fear that with importing Communist goods they will also be importing communist ideas. Syria has shown that with the best opportunities before them, the Communists could not make any serious gain in the political field in that country.

It is not by refusing to trade with the Communists that communism can be kept in check. It is by land and social reform, by alleviating the misery of the under-privileged members of the community, by distributing the wealth of the country amongst its people on a fair and equitable basis, by spreading education, by giving people freedom of thought and expression, and by treating all citizens as equals before the law that Communism can be fought. Happy and contented

people are the last to be swayed by Communist oratory and dialectics.

Let us hope that Syria will have a long period of certainty and stability free of the tumult of *coups d'états*, that its Government will help its people to prosper. And let us hope that the example which Syria set recently in the way it faced the Communist challenge will be followed by the Arab and Muslim countries.

#### **JORDAN**

##### **General elections in Jordan**

At about the same time that general elections were taking place in Syria, Iraq and Jordan were having their own general elections. The elections in both these countries were not, unfortunately, conducted on the same model lines as the Syrian elections. They both, however, produced results making it possible to form stable and strong governments. That means that for the next few years the Iraqi and Jordan Governments, relying on their decisive parliamentary majorities, will be able to go ahead unhindered with any programmes that they might have.

Perhaps before long also the Governments of Iraq, Syria and Jordan will be able to thrash out once for all the question of their federation or unity into the Greater Syria entity. A great deal has been said and written about this project. Iraq has made its views on it quite clear, but Syria and Egypt are yet to clarify their attitude. The Greater Syria plan has inflamed the imagination of the man-in-the-street in the Arab world. Politicians, however, have not all been in support of it. For our part, we believe that anything savouring of Arab unity and solidarity, however humble be the form it may take, will be a very good thing indeed.



*This picture was taken at the headquarters of the Pakistan Muslim Association, Cairo, Egypt, when a reception was held in honour of the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Navy, Admiral H. M. S. Choudry (addressing the audience). On the extreme left is seated the energetic Honorary Secretary of the Association, Mr. Hamid Hasan Khan, B.A. Admiral Choudry in his speech reminded the Muslims of their glorious naval past, and held out hopes of a bright future*



# AN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

## The Ford Foundation and Pakistan

By M. A. A'zam

**"The Ford Foundation as the nucleus of a great American participation in the progress and welfare of Pakistan has truly interpreted the object of its Charter and the spirit of the Trustees to build a better world through human welfare."**

### Historical background of the industrial development of Pakistan

The history of technical education in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent can be traced back to 1856, when a college at Fort William, Calcutta, was established at the instance of the Public Works Department, with the object of training Indian engineers and subordinates. The Engineering College at Fort William was subsequently transferred to the Bengal Presidency College in 1864. About a decade later (1878) the Government of Bengal appointed a committee to consider and report on measures necessary for the establishment of a technical school connected with the workshops and manufacturing of the Public Works Department. In pursuance of the recommendation of this committee, the Engineering College at Sibpur, Howrah, was established in 1880.

A commission was appointed in 1882 by the Government of India to review the existing system of education in the country and frame a suitable educational policy. In defining the terms of the reference the Government recognized the necessity for technical education. Two years later, the report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction in England was published and it evoked a good deal of interest in India. On 8th June 1888 the Government of India passed a resolution on the subject of technical education on which they deplored that the educational development in India was "too exclusively literary in its bent", and recognized the necessity for technical and industrial training with a view to securing a variety of occupations for the people.

In 1901, the then Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, convened an Education Committee at Simla, where the subject of technical and industrial education was also discussed. The Atkinson-Dawson Inquiry Committee (1912) was another step taken by the Government of India for the promotion of technical education. This committee particularly concentrated on the problem of bringing technical institutes "into closer touch and more practical relations with the 'employers of labour' in India".

In passing it is interesting to note that it was in Dacca (then in the province of Eastern Bengal) and Assam that a conference on industrial education was held in 1909, wherein it was, for the first time, proposed that a Department of Industries should be created and entrusted with the control of technical and industrial education. The Conference also recommended the establishment of a Central Industrial Institute at Dacca, for lower courses of practical character and to incorporate in it the School of Engineering (now College of Engineering) at Dacca.

### The Government of Pakistan studies the industrial requirements of the country

After partition of India the Government of Pakistan became increasingly conscious of the importance of technical education and adequate reconstruction thereof. The Technical Education Committee was, therefore, appointed by the Council of Technical Education of Pakistan in its first meeting of June 1948.<sup>1</sup>

The committee submitted its report to the Council of Technical Education for Pakistan at its third meeting held in Karachi on the 26th and 27th September 1950.

The committee, *inter alia*, stated:

"Judging from the Scientific Manpower Committee's report which gave information as to the type of technical personnel available in the country, and taking into consideration the requirements of the various industries recommended by the Industrial Advisory Conference we found that there were serious shortages in several directions.

"With the creation of the new State of Pakistan there has arisen a pressing demand for technicians of all types and of approved standards. The demand continues, and will grow with the rapid economic and industrial development of the country. This indicates the necessity for modernization of the existing and creation of new institutions and facilities for imparting technical education of the right type to the nationals of the country.

"Now that the demand for technicians, particularly of the most important category — the supervisory personnel — is increasing, immediate steps should be taken to establish institutions to provide a variety of courses to satisfy the needs of different industries.

"We recommend polytechnics as the best type of institutions for training this category of personnel, and these should be established at the earliest possible opportunity. Polytechnics should impart technical education up to diploma standard in branches of engineering and technologies, depending upon the type of industries existing and contemplated — in the particular region. The type of training should not be general in character but of the particular type so that the students will be prepared for a particular level of employment in the industry on entry. . . .

"Taking into consideration the plans for development of industries and number of industries, existing and

<sup>1</sup> M. A. A'zam, *Report on Technical Education, East Bengal* presented at the Third Session of the Provincial Industrial Advisory Council held at Dacca on 13th July 1953.





*The main administrative building, classrooms and laboratories of the Eastern Pakistan Polytechnic Institute, Dacca, Eastern Pakistan*

anticipated, within the next five years, we feel that at least three polytechnics will be required for producing the minimum number of supervisory personnel required. We recommend that one polytechnic should be established in Karachi, Western Pakistan and Eastern Pakistan.”<sup>2</sup>

#### **Establishment of two polytechnics in Pakistan**

The Committee also submitted three schemes, “to work as a guide for the establishment of polytechnics”.

The Government of Pakistan, which examines all development projects, whether central or provincial approved of its two schemes to start with, one for Karachi and the other for Dacca. The final schemes were greatly modified and involved a capital expenditure of about \$2,000,000 for each institute.

The modified schemes provided for the following diploma courses:

##### *Karachi Polytechnic*

- (1) Civil Technology.
- (2) Mechanical Technology.
- (3) Electrical Technology.
- (4) Radio-electronics Technology.
- (5) Automobile Technology.
- (6) Air Conditioning and Refrigeration Technology.

##### *East Bengal Polytechnic*

- (1) Civil Technology.
- (2) Mechanical Technology.
- (3) Electrical Technology.
- (4) Power Technology.
- (5) Chemical Technology (to be offered later).

These will be two-year courses for Karachi Polytechnic and three-year courses (including a one-year preparatory course) for East Bengal. Thirty students will be admitted in each of the above courses.

The recommendations of the Technical Education Committee were very favourably considered by the Government, which was also thoroughly convinced of the need for the polytechnics and also of the need of action for establishing the institutes. Although the question of finance loomed large, the Government was determined to see the schemes through with all means at its disposal.

Report of the Technical Education Committee appointed by the Council of Technical Education for Pakistan (1950).

#### **Aid from the Ford Foundation**

In the meantime the Ministry of Economic Affairs (in co-operation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the Government of Pakistan, sounded the sources of foreign aid and technical assistance. The most encouraging response was received from the Ford Foundation.

It was a happy coincidence that the Ford Foundation was at this time undergoing some reorganization. In the autumn of 1948, anticipating final settlement of Federal Estate Tax matters and probable receipts during 1949 and 1950 of income sufficient to permit the Ford Foundation to undertake a greatly expanded programme, the trustees authorized the appointment of a study committee to serve as independent consultants to the Foundation.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of the Ford Foundation is stated simply in its charter:

“To receive and administer funds for scientific, educational and charitable purposes, all for the public welfare.”

On 22nd November 1948 Henry Ford II, Chairman of the Trustees, wrote *inter alia* to the Chairman of the Study Committee:

“We want the best thought available in the United States as to how this Foundation can most effectively and intelligently put its resources to work for human welfare.”<sup>4</sup>

More than one thousand persons were directly interviewed by the Study Committee and the staff. Over seven man-years went into the study, exclusive of the time devoted to it by its advisers and conferees, who were acting without compensation. Material prepared and accumulated ran into many thousands of pages.

In the opinion of the Trustees, the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee were influenced by and responsive to the best American judgment of our time.

#### **Five programme areas of the Ford Foundation**

The Study Committee, in its report, has proposed in broad terms five programme areas for the advancement of human welfare.

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Trustees of the Ford Foundation, 27th September 1950.

<sup>4</sup> Report of the Trustees of the Ford Foundation, 27th September 1950.





*Professor H. P. Adams, Director of the School of Technical Training, Oklahoma A. & M. College (fourth from left, first row), with the leader of the delegation, Mr. M. A. A'zam (fifth from left, first row), and members of the Pakistani engineers for a course of studies arranged by the Ford Foundation at the Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, the United States of America*

*Area I.* The Ford Foundation should support activities that promise significant contributions to the world peace and the establishment of a world order of law and justice.

*Area II.* The Ford Foundation should support activities designed to secure greater allegiance to the basic principles of freedom and democracy in the solution of an insistent problem of an ever-changing society.

*Area III.* The Ford Foundation should support activities designed to advance the economic well-being of people everywhere and to improve economic institutions for the better realization of democratic goals.

*Area IV.* The Ford Foundation should support activities to strengthen, expand and improve educational facilities and methods to enable individuals more fully to realize their intellectual, civic and spiritual potentialities; to promote greater equality of educational opportunity; and to conserve and increase knowledge and enrich our culture.

*Area V.* The Ford Foundation should support scientific activities designed to increase knowledge of factors which influence or determine human conduct, and extend such knowledge for the maximum benefit of individuals and of society.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Physical facilities and personnel requirements for the Polytechnic courses**

Early in 1952, Mr. Frederick E. Dobbs, Principal (now retired), Wentworth Institute, Boston, Massachusetts, visited Pakistan as technical consultant for the Ford Foundation to investigate the Polytechnic project in its comprehensive details. Mr. Dobbs has had considerable experience as a technical school administrator. With the help of his former

colleagues in Boston he formulated a scheme for the Karachi Polytechnic, indicating:

#### **(1) Physical facilities needed:**

- (a) Land, buildings, workshops, water, electricity, etc.; and,
- (b) Machines, tools and equipment.

#### **(2) Courses to be offered.**

#### **(3) Instructional and administration staff.**

Having decided on the curriculum, orders for machines and equipment were placed by the Government of Pakistan with the Wentworth Institute, with which the Pakistan Embassy in Washington entered into a contract. Mr. Dobbs served as an honorary adviser for the Pakistan Embassy to ensure the proper selection of equipment. The entire cost of machinery was borne by the Ford Foundation, which also rendered free of cost to the Government of Pakistan all technical assistance that was given through Mr. Dobbs, who was soon joined by a few more consultants — all of them former instructors at the Wentworth Institute.

#### **Co-ordination of work**

Soon afterwards, Dr. Randall Klemme, former Vice-President of Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, U.S.A., was appointed chief representative of the Ford Foundation in Pakistan. Dr. Klemme placed Mr. Arlin as resident representative in East Pakistan. Mr. Arlin worked for about four months in very close co-operation with the author of this article and helped to modify the scheme for the Dacca Polytechnic on the lines Mr. Dobbs had used with regard to the Karachi Polytechnic.

In the Polytechnic project, the Ford Foundation made provisions mainly for the supply of machinery, tools and equipment. The Pakistan Government and the Government of East Pakistan were to furnish all other physical facilities such as land and buildings. The cost of maintenance was also

<sup>5</sup> *Report of the Study for the Ford Foundation on Policy and Programme*, November 1949.



responsibility of the local governments concerned. Apart from working in an Advisory Committee, the Ford Foundation also followed a policy of non-interference with the internal administration of the respective departments of the government.

Dr. Klemme, however, pointed out that the success of the polytechnics depended mostly on the quality of the teachers who would run them, that the human element counted infinitely more than bricks and mortar, or tools and equipment. The training of teachers should, therefore, according to him, precede the training of students, so that the latter may be properly guided and adequately equipped for the responsible task ahead. He said that the graduates of the polytechnics would be called upon to play a significant role in the country's industrial and economic development, but they could be only as good as their teachers.

### The Foreign Operations Administration of the United States

By this time the United States of America shifted gear from the present Republican Government, and soon afterwards the Technical Assistance Administration, the Mutual Security Agency and the Truman Point-Four Programme were merged and reorganized into one agency under Foreign Operations Administration. There was, however, no change in the six programme categories of the former Mutual Security Agency, namely:

Public Health ;  
Transportation, Power and Public Works ;  
Education ;  
Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries ;  
Manufacturing, Mining and other industries ; and,  
Public Administration.

The programme constitutes an adventure in mutual help and understanding.

Participants from the free countries of the world in this new adventure "come seeking mastery of modern economic techniques which can be adopted to help fulfil the hopes of their fellow countrymen".<sup>6</sup>

By the end of 1953, Dr. Klemme had enlisted the co-operation of the United States Foreign Operations Administration through its representative in Pakistan, Dr. A. A. Wilson. The School of Technical Training, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, and the William Hood Dunwoody Industrial Institute, Minneapolis, Minnesota, were selected as training institutes for the first batch of teachers who were recruited through the Pakistan (Central and Provincial) Public Service Commissions.

A training programme was planned by the United States Office of Education in close consultation with Professor Henry P. Adams, Director, School of Technical Training, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma ; Mr. R. Kingman, Director, William Hood Dunwoody Industrial Institute ; and Mr. Marshall Arlin of the Ford Foundation, who came out from Dacca in December 1953 and visited the two institutes.

The group of polytechnic instructors, including the Director, joined the School of Technical Training, Oklahoma A. & M. College, and the group of shop superintendents joined the Dunwoody Institute by the middle of February 1954.

### The philosophy underlying the technical institute type of education in Pakistan

In close co-operation with the Oklahoma A. & M. College Staff, the members of the Pakistani group in the

*Adventure in America*, issued by the Mutual Security Agency (now Foreign Operations Administration).

School of Technical Training constructed suitable curricula and made lesson-plans in the various subjects that would be offered. This called for a thorough understanding of the personnel requirements of Pakistan in the development of her industries as well as of the philosophy of technical institute type education, which is of comparatively recent origin.

### The Philosophy

The basic philosophy underlying the technical institute type of education is that it provides:

- (a) training and security of employment at a low cost ;
- (b) opportunity for entering new fields of industry ; and,
- (c) opportunity for the development of each individual to the maximum of his aptitude, interest and abilities.

Besides serving the individual, the technical institute type of education also serves the industry by preventing waste of talents and by minimizing improvised and poor standards. In industry, for every professional engineer there are about five who are doing a technician's job, for which neither a professional engineer nor a craftsman would be suitable.

### The technical mission

In March 1954 the Ford Foundation requested President Wilham of the Oklahoma A. & M. College to send a technical mission "to explore the three levels of technical education in Pakistan — professional engineers, technicians and trade school training".

After surveying the present programme in Pakistan, the A. & M. team would make recommendations concerning the needs for technical high schools, additional engineering colleges, technical institutes and trade schools in Pakistan.

This two-way programme of technical knowledge and understanding is bound to produce fruitful results in the development of our industrial economy in general and technical education in particular.

The Ford Foundation as the nucleus of a great American participation in the progress and welfare of Pakistan has truly interpreted the object of its Charter and the spirit of the Trustees to build a better world through human welfare.

## ALCOHOL

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# "NORTH AFRICA IS OUR COUNTRY"<sup>1</sup>

By Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir

We are part of North Africa, or rather let it be said that we and it form part of the great Arab Fatherland which extends from the coasts of the Atlantic to the mountains of Mausil (Mosul). We are, both here in Egypt and there in North Africa, brothers descending from the same parents. Separated may we be in different places, but we are brought together by our unity in our feelings, by our common descent and by the ties of religion and language.

On a day that belongs to the far distant past, our ancestors marched together in a procession of victory from the heart of the Arabian Peninsula to Palestine, to Egypt, to Barqah, to al-Qayrawan and to Fez and to the coasts where the waves of the Atlantic Ocean crash against the lands of North Africa, and from there on to Cordova, Seville, Lisbon and to Poitiers in the heart of France. There they stayed and did not return to Arabia; for in whatever country they resided, they did not feel they were strangers amongst the native inhabitants, nor did the native inhabitants look upon them as strangers. From that day, the Atlantic coast became the Western frontier of this great Arab Fatherland.

And on the same day of that far distant past, another group of our ancestors marched together in another procession of victory: from the heart of the Arabian Peninsula, to Damascus, to Hims, to Aleppo, and to the Tigris and the Euphrates, and to Mausil and the lands that lay behind these rivers. There they stayed, and none of them returned to Arabia. For they also never felt that they were strangers in a strange land. And from that day the mountains of Mausil became the other boundary of this great Arab Fatherland.

Over this Arab Fatherland, extending from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean, and from the mountains of Atlas to the mountains of Mausil, the Arab flag fluttered and waved. It has continued to fly within these four boundaries for the last thirteen centuries or more until the present day; and it will continue to fly until the day God resurrects the dead, when the dynasties of the Chosroes, and Caesar, Roderick and Charles be witnesses to what they have known in person.

On another day not so far distant in history, another procession of civilization marched forward, comprising large numbers of the Banu Hilal, the Banu Salim, the Banu Murra and other tribes of 'Adnan and Qahtan; they dispersed within the four boundaries of the Arab Fatherland, building up the ruins, uniting people in marriage, and reciting the verses of the Qur'an. In every country they left an enduring edifice; in every family there is someone who can claim ancestry from them; from every minaret calls to prayer were recited by them, and their names are mentioned in every regular prayer whenever the great are commemorated.

When the ships of the Arabs crossed the high seas to Sicily and Southern Italy, and when the Arab civilization superseded Roman paganism there, there were on these ships muffled men from the Arab West who cross the desert at night, and turbaned men from the Arab East, those resident in Antioch, and slender Yemenis from the south of the Arabian Peninsula, and brown-skinned Egyptians from the Nile Valley. But they were all Arabs under the flag; for Arabic was their tongue. And they were all Muslims; for Muhammad was their Prophet.

When the wave of Islam receded from Andalusia, having been weakened by discord and lack of unity, and when some of them emigrated to Egypt and North Africa, they were all Arabs in the eyes of historians and politicians; for they were Muslims despite the fact that some were Spanish,

descendants of Mardaneesh, and some were of Gothic origin, descendants of Roderick.

When Europe full of venom sprang upon the Arabs in the fifth century (A.H.) and also later on, its armies moved in huge numbers towards the Muslim capitals in the East and in the West. For in the eyes of the Crusaders they were all Arab lands!

Indeed they were right. For all these parts make up one country: our country. We here in Egypt form part of it and the rest is part of us. If we say this now and if this angers some of the big men and politicians of the West, then let them be angry. For they had said the same thing before we said it: their swords in war, their ships on the high seas, their aeroplanes in the skies, their ambassadors and ministers in conferences and treaties and in parliamentary speeches, their learned men and writers in their books, journals and newspapers, their actors in comedy and in drama — all said the same thing. So why should they be angry when we in Egypt, and every Arab wherever he may be, should say, "North Africa is part of us as we are part of it"? This is not a mere claim that we put forward. It is a true fact that we announce, the true meaning of which we are keen to emphasise whenever we have the opportunity. Then let it be known to those who wish and those who do not wish to know that every country that speaks Arabic is our country and that our country must be liberated. Let it be known to all people whether they wish to know or not that Muslims throughout the world are brothers, and that brothers must co-operate in hardship and difficult times. Let it be known to all that every African is a brother and a neighbour to other Africans, and that neighbours owe it to each other to help one another until they are no more in need of this help, when they are secure and free.

The politicians of the West have lived for a long time repeating what the English poet had said, "East is East and West is West, and ne'er the twain shall meet". It is time for us now to say something similar to what they have said: "In face of Western greed, we in the East are but one nation".

These then are the four foundations upon which rests our policy in this part of the world. We do not seek by it the aims of any religious fanaticism, or racial fanaticism, or territorial fanaticism. For our religion is the religion of humanity at large, not the religion of one race; and because, our race was the first to preach the meaning of peace and brotherhood on earth, and will not therefore respond to the call of racialism, and because our country is the land of prophets, it cannot therefore be the source of any call to evil. All that we need, we Arabs and Muslims, we the inhabitants of this East, is that we should be one group which supports the forces of right, good and peace, and opposes the forces of oppression, aggression and destruction.

To this end we are exhorted by our religion, by our moral and intellectual traditions, and by our belief in freedom and honour and in all the noble values of mankind. Then let the politicians of the rest of the world, be they young or old, believe in these truths, before they are swept away by a great destructive wave, and before they repent and say when it is too late: "Would that we had taken the Muslims as our allies and friends".

<sup>1</sup> Translated from *al-Ummah*, Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, for 8th November 1954. These few lines form an introduction to a book in Arabic shortly to be published under the title of *North Africa: Its Past, Present and Future*.



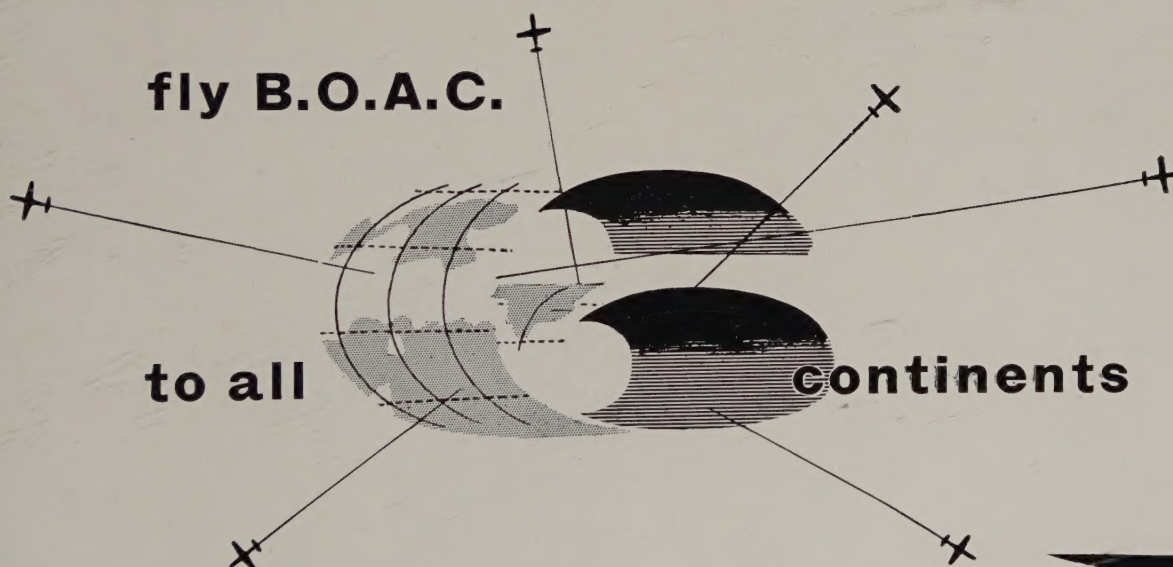
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